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ABSTRACT

Designed to examine alternative answers to questions on rural development, the Conference on Planning Frontiers in Rural America is presented in this digest which transcribes some of the deliberations stimulated by 10 speakers of national reputation interested in contemporary rural America and its prospects for the future. Specifically, this digest presents testimony and papers relative to the following: (1) Rural Development and the Need for Planning (The North Carolina and Appalachian Experiences); (2) Alternatives for Rural Development (An Activity in Search of Direction; Rural Transportation and Industrial Development; Rural Impact of Recreation Development; The Urban Shadow: The Rural Fringe of Expanding Urban Areas: Rural Development; International Perspectives); (3) Implementation of Rural Development Objectives (Regional Councils; The State Level; Regionalism: An Answer for the Planning of Rural Areas; Management and Technical Assistance for Rural Areas; Citizen Participation in Rural Development Decision Making); (4) Achieving a More Livable Rural Environment (Environmental Implications of Rural Development; Improving the Infrastructure of Rural Areas--A Panel Discussion; A Better Place to Live; Rural Housing Conditions; Rural Health Delivery; Planning and the Rural Way of Life; Protecting the Rural Environment); (5) A Conference Summary. (JC)

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PLANNING FRONTIERS IN RURAL AMERICA

PAPERS AND PROCEEDINGS OF THE BOONE CONFERENCE

BOONE, NORTH CAROLINA, MARCH 16–18, 1975

PREPARED FOR THE

SUBCOMMITTEE ON RURAL DEVELOPMENT

OF THE

COMMITTEE ON AGRICULTURE AND FORESTRY

UNITED STATES SENATE

U S DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION & WELFARE
NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF EDUCATION

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FOREWORD

We are pleased to present here a digest of the proceedings of a conference on Planning Frontiers in Rural America, held under the auspices of Appalachian State University at Boone, N.C., March 16–18, 1975.

The views of the conference participants do not necessarily reflect those of the Members of the Subcommittee on Rural Development.

DICK CLARK, *Chairman.*

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1. American Institute of Planners, North Carolina Chapter (James Hinkley, President);
2. Land-of-Sky Regional Council, Asheville, North Carolina (Robert Shepherd, Executive Director);
3. Region "D" Council of Governments, Boone, North Carolina (Carl Tuttle, Executive Director);
4. Western Piedmont Council of Governments, Hickory, North Carolina (R. Douglas Taylor, Executive Director);
5. Wright-Ingraham Institute, Colorado Springs, Colorado (Elizabeth Wright-Ingraham, Director);
6. Watauga County Planning Board, Boone, North Carolina (L. E. Tuckwiller, Chairperson);
7. Appalachian State University Arts and Concert/Lecture Series (Rogers Whitener, Director);
8. Department of Geography, Appalachian State University (Dr. Terry Epperson, Chairperson).

The Conference Guidance Committee was the body responsible for the several months of work involved in the planning and execution of the Conference, and its members listed below merit a special note of thanks:

Robert Brown, Planning Director, Region "D" Council of Governments;

Phil Chisholm, Coordinator, ASU Planning and Land Use Education Program;

Dr. [illegible] Combs, Chairman, Department of Economics, Appalachian [illegible] University;

Richar[illegible] Hudson, Program Coordinator, ASU Center for Continuing Education;

Robert Lee, Region "D" Council of Governments;

Denny Martin, Planning Director, Land-of-Sky Regional Council;

R. Douglas Taylor, Executive Director, Western Piedmont Council of Governments.

Additional acknowledgement and thanks must go to the individuals responsible for the final preparation of the Conference *Proceedings and Papers*. These include David Robinson, Ronald Garst, Leland Nicholls, John Minton, R. Douglas Taylor, Robert Shepherd, John Shore, John Anderson, Ted Parker, Barry Elledge, Don Anderson,

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David Brower, Clarence Wright, Robert Cox, all of whom were workshop directors, and Burton L. Purrington, Department of Sociology and Anthropology, Appalachian State University who co-edited the volume. Special debts of gratitude are owed to Ms. Kathy Locke, Conference Administrative Assistant, and to Steve Geller and Allen Speer, graduate assistants.

OLE GADE, *Conference Director.*

PREFACE

Approximately one-third of our people in the United States live in nonmetropolitan counties or rural America. Though that portion of the population which is functionally rural is still decreasing, it is a fact that the tentacles of urban America, through its expanding commuting range, are reaching into rural areas to the point of influencing recent increases in the total rural population. For many rural communities this has created a dichotomous situation with serious, if not fatal, effects. Many communities have experienced the gradual evolution of an either/or situation in which they are facing either a lack of employment opportunities, outmigration of young people, economic decay, and serious tears in the traditional social and family fabric; or they are facing, unprepared, the onslaught of suburban expansion with its accelerating demand upon community services and its all too frequent disruptive and negative impact on regional environmental resources and local ecological systems.

Much of rural America does reflect neither the quiet desperation of the lagging region nor the tumultuous impact of urban overreach, and yet it does experience serious voids in the development of its human resource base; the provision of basic services like medical care or water and waste management; the availability of a broad base of competitive employment opportunities, and the protection of its land and environmental resources.

After years of developing federal legislation designed to cope with the mounting problems of urban America it appears that Congress is now taking the important steps which may lead toward *rural* social and economic rebirth. Indeed, the Rural Development Act of 1972 and the Housing and Community Development Act of 1974 each contain much promise of a rural renaissance. Unhappily, states and, in particular, local governments are sometimes painfully slow in assuming the initiative necessary for the implementation of federal guidelines and support.

In rural America it is time to take stock. Who are we? Where are we? Where do we want to go from here? How do we decide? By what means do we get there?

The *Conference on Planning Frontiers in Rural America* was designed to look at alternative answers to these questions. To introduce some of the potential answers the Conference invited ten speakers with national reputations in rural development and planning. These individuals set the stage for workshop deliberations of a broad segment (geographic as well as professional) of people interested in contemporary rural America, its problems and prospects for the future.

OLE GADE, Ph. D.,
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PLANNING FRONTIERS IN RURAL AMERICA

PART I

RURAL DEVELOPMENT AND THE NEED FOR PLANNING

THE NORTH CAROLINA EXPERIENCE

(By James E. Holshouser, Governor, State of North Carolina)

I can think of few topics that deserve a higher priority on our nation's agenda than the future of rural America. It's a broad and complex subject—one that challenges the best minds of America to do their best thinking. Only by being fully informed can we properly plan for the future of rural America—for the future of all America. This conference—bringing together rural administrators, planners, academicians, students and other people who care about the future of this country—is an important step in that direction. I am pleased that all of you are here, and I am especially pleased that this conference has been arranged in a way that will enable you to give this subject the kind of in-depth look that it requires and deserves.

There was a time—100 years ago, 50 years ago, maybe even more recently than that when a discussion of rural America was a relatively narrow subject that would have attracted few people outside the farm organizations. There was rural America and urban America—and never the twain should meet. There were city people and country people. Farmers lived in the country; industrialists, businessmen, professional people and workers lived in the city. There were two different worlds.

Those days are gone. Modern highways and air transportation have made us one country. Technology has brought city America into the living rooms of the farmhouses. Because of this same modern miracle—the television tube—children in New York City and Chicago know what cows and horses and pigs look like. Country music is performed today to overflow audiences in our largest and most cosmopolitan cities. People outside our cities, their tastes influenced by radio, television, and recordings, are just as likely to show up at the opera or ballet.

But the changes that have come to rural America run much deeper than even a shift toward a universal American culture. Rural America is no longer inhabited only by farmers. Modern technology has made it possible for bigger and better crops to be raised by fewer and fewer people. In ever-growing numbers, rural Americans have been forced to leave the farm and move reluctantly to the city in search of a job. As the cities have become more and more crowded, these people often

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have found life less and less enjoyable—especially if they lacked the skills to obtain meaningful jobs that pay well.

At the same time, more and more people have fled the cities in search of elbow room, of air to breathe and a patch of green grass to call their own. Thousands of acres of farmlands and woodlands have given way to a new kind of hybrid community we call "suburbia."

In more recent years, we have huge factories pop up in the middle of corn fields and along the banks of rivers far from any large city. Slowly, gradually, but inevitably, rural America and urban America have grown closer and closer together, more and more alike.

The face of rural America is changing, and changing rapidly. How do we keep rural America?—that is the question we face today. We could lose rural America unless we do the kind of planning and adopt the kind of policies that will keep this from happening.

There are obvious reasons, of course, why rural America has to be preserved if this country is to survive. The most obvious reason is the need for food—not just in this country, but all over the world. We all know about the world food shortage and what could happen if the world's population continues to grow faster than its ability to produce food. We know, too, that our environment is threatened, and that one key to saving it is to make sure that we save rural America as a vibrant part of this country. Here in the Southeastern United States, we are fortunate. We are fortunate because we have not yet been overtaken by this kind of runaway, unplanned, unmanaged development that has some other parts of this country facing a real crisis. We are lucky that much of our land is still undeveloped; that we don't have to start tearing down buildings and start all over again. We are lucky that much of our environment is still relatively unspoiled; that most of us still have water that is fit to drink and air that is safe to breathe. We are lucky that much of our land still can be called rural.

In 1973, I had the opportunity to visit several European countries as a part of a trade and industrial mission for North Carolina. Wherever I went, I was told by government and industrial leaders that more than any single region in the world, the Southeastern United States was on the threshold of dynamic economic growth. We in the South have an opportunity and a challenge: An opportunity to take advantage of the economic development that is coming—and opportunity to raise the standard of living of our people—and the challenge of proving that it can be done without repeating the mistakes that have so drastically lowered the quality of life for Americans in other regions of this country. We have the opportunity and the challenge to prove that our people can have the best standard of living without giving up anything in their quality of living.

Here in North Carolina, we know that most of our people prefer living in small towns and rural areas—this has been shown by survey after survey. As recently as the 1970 Census, 56% of our people still lived in areas classified as "rural." But we also know that, while progress has been made, our rural areas still lag behind. Recent estimates by the Bureau of the Census indicate that the population of our State outside the eight largest metropolitan areas grew by 2.5% between 1970 and 1973. This is less than one-half the growth rate experienced by the urban centers over that same period. At the same

time, we are seeing a heartening trend—a decline on the number of people leaving our rural areas for the cities in North Carolina and other parts of the country. In fact, statistics indicate that our non-urban counties, taken as a whole, actually experienced net in-migration between 1970 and 1973.

What all this means, of course, is that if the people are given the opportunity to better themselves economically—if good jobs are available in the smaller towns and rural counties—they would be willing, even anxious, to live and work in these areas. But we also know that this opportunity has been slow in coming for far too many of our people. We know that between 1969 and 1972, total personal income in our nonmetropolitan counties grew by 17% as compared with 31% in the more urban counties of our State. These figures showed us one thing: That our metropolitan areas had been able to attract and develop the higher wage manufacturing and service industries while the rural areas, for the most part, were still in that transition stage from agriculture to low-wage, low-skill manufacturing.

When I took office a little over two years ago, I committed this administration to a vigorous effort to bring better jobs to the people in their own communities—to the rural areas and smaller cities of North Carolina. As part of this effort, we have taken advantage of a program begun several years ago—the Governor's Award Program. This program is designed to encourage and help communities with populations of 15,000 or less to make themselves more attractive for economic development. Over and over again, we have seen these steps lead to the location of a new industry or the expansion of an existing one in a Governor's Award town. This program has given the State's industrial development staff something to sell when they entertain visiting industrialists looking for a new site. I am happy to say that these efforts have brought results. During both 1973 and 1974, the vast majority of all the new and expanded industrial projects announced for North Carolina were in non-urban areas—helping us to maintain the healthy distribution of population that our State has enjoyed for so many years.

But economic development is just one part of the picture. Our total objective for North Carolina is "balanced growth"—and that means a lot of things. It means that we have to take the necessary steps to protect our land and water and air, and we are taking those steps. It means we must have a well-planned system of transportation—one that will tie our people together, that will lead to economic development without spoiling the environment.

In 1973, we developed the State's first seven-year highway plan, a plan that places emphasis on the development of a complete, statewide system of major highways. Good roads are essential to our goal of "balanced growth." But they are only one part of a package of things that we have to have if we are to improve that elusive something we call "quality of life" in our rural areas. These communities have to have good schools, adequate water and sewer systems, and all the other essential services that encourage people to move to the big cities and that can discourage industries from leaving the cities.

For our people in rural areas and small towns, there is a need for the cultural opportunities that city residents have always enjoyed.

That's why our North Carolina Symphony goes on tour throughout our State. That's why we have an artists-in-residence program that brings outstanding people in all the arts to the campuses of our statewide community college system. That's why we are discussing a "museum on wheels" program that will take the great works found in our North Carolina Museum of Art Collection to all corners of this State.

We have moved, and are continuing to move strongly, to make all these things happen in North Carolina. We are moving, too, to overcome what may be the most serious problem facing rural America—and rural areas everywhere—the problem of inadequate health care opportunities. Our program to meet this problem is young, but it is already attracting attention throughout the country. It is a program that has several parts. We are well on the way in North Carolina in developing the most extensive system of area health education centers in this country—a system designed to decentralize medical training and to increase the supply of primary care physicians in all areas of the State.

At the same time, we have recognized that the problem of medical care distribution won't be solved by simply increasing the number of doctors or even by taking medical education to all parts of the State. We have established an Office of Rural Health Services to offer help to communities seeking better primary health care for their people. A major part of this program is our Rural Health Center plan, which allows physicians to expand their services from the larger communities containing a hospital out into the smaller, surrounding communities by making use of satellite clinics and physicians extenders. Other programs have been undertaken to encourage medical students and students in related fields to practice in rural areas and to help them find suitable locations to begin their practices.

All of these things are essential in any consideration of rural America. But if there is one key to the future of rural America, it is the need to plan how we are going to be using our land for the benefit of all our people. Last year, we recognized in North Carolina that if we were going to have the kind of "balanced growth" I have been talking about—if our people were going to enjoy a high quality of life for generations to come—we no longer could take for granted that we would have enough land forever to provide us with all the things we want and need. Our General Assembly adopted major landmark legislation in this field—legislation that placed us in the forefront of all the States, according to The New York Times. We adopted a Statewide Land Protection Act and a Coastal Area Management Act, and we are hopeful that a similar Mountain Area Management Act will be enacted by our legislature this year to assure sound, orderly growth in this part of North Carolina.

In this, and virtually everything else I have mentioned today, our State government is pursuing a policy of partnership—a partnership with local governments—with the federal government; with our sister states, and perhaps most importantly of all—with the private sector. Too often today, people expect government to do everything, to provide all the solutions to all the problems that face this country. But we know that a great many things that will have to be done in

this country are going to be done by the private sector—in many cases, only by the private sector. We all should be very conscious of that fact—that cooperation and partnership between the public and private sectors are essential if the future of rural America is to be bright—if the future of America is to be bright. That's our challenge today as we join with all Americans in planning our country's second 200 years.

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THE APPALACHIAN EXPERIENCE

(By John Whisman, States' Representative, Appalachian Regional Commission)

I will talk tonight not about the Appalachian Program which appears geographically in only part of the country and which I predict will be applied to all of the country in the fairly near future. It has broad applicability because it is a process that is not confined to the building of roads or the carrying out of health systems or any other of the problems or opportunities of Government: it has to do with solving problems and making opportunities. I would like to talk mostly about the problems and a little bit about opportunity, an opportunity being of course, nothing but a problem upside down. All the opportunities that I know anything about came because somebody had a problem to solve and in over-reaching to solve the problem solved a good deal more than expected. That is essentially what has happened in the Appalachian Program. I think we learned something about problems ten or really twenty years ago when we began at the local and state levels in putting the Appalachian Program together. We had the problem, the Government had the programs, private industry had the kind of opportunities we wanted. We had no problem in getting the Government's money. In what might have been considered an act of piracy, we were able to go forward and get a sympathetic view.

The money came, but our problem, our overriding problem, was that the money did not come to be applied to what we thought our problems were, but to what somebody else thought our problems were. The Appalachian Program was primarily created not so much to get more money, but to try to get somewhere in the pipeline a little elbow that would say, "we know what our problems are, let us turn it to this problem." Essentially we tried to say that the Appalachian region was not a region of poverty stricken people—that is a problem—but a region of people who wanted and were quite capable of taking opportunity in development, and that is the opportunity we are after. In essence in the last few years that has so well happened that the unemployment figures that now plague the nation sound like Appalachia in New York, sound like Appalachia in California, and in Appalachia sound like other places used to sound. We had very little to do with that in the Appalachian Regional Commission. We have a lot of people trying to evaluate our program I am glad they are and if they ever do I will probably quit, but they all come with the first question, "how much direct impact have you had in the creation of jobs and in the raising of incomes?" and I say I decline to answer on whatever grounds I can plead.

We did not start out to create jobs or income, we started out to create a foundation of capability; we wanted to build a foundation with the kind of facilities that the Governor was talking about. We had to

change Government policy to do that. We had to build for opportunity. This country, in spite of its attack on the frontiers across the West, had forgotten how to build for opportunity. You four-laned a highway when the two lanes were overcrowded. You built when there was a problem, and people who were seeking to build for opportunity found themselves lost in the policies of our government ten years ago. I would suggest to you that there begun to be a change in reaction to problems but I would like to dwell with you a few minutes just about changes in problems over the last decade.

The Appalachian Program was ten years old last Sunday March 9th, ten years before that on March 9th the President signed a bill which officially created the program although it had already been active at the State and local levels for almost ten years. Then on Monday, March 10th, just a few days ago, Governor Holshouser appeared in the Senate to testify on the first day of a new decade of progress in Appalachia and to say that he thought this process deserved trust, deserved investment, and deserved continuation. I believe that the Congress is going to agree to that, and we can look forward to a new generation, a new decade of problem solving. I am not sure we will be as successful as we have been. Problems have changed relatively little in their nature—we still need roads and sewer systems and better education and better health services.

What has changed is the complexity of problems and I would like to suggest two words tonight that characterize the reason for rural development in our time, and then I am going to suggest to you that we do away with rural development and I am going to let that one hang for a while—while I talk about the problems. The first word I would like to suggest is the word *balance*.

I would suspect that almost every problem that comes to government officials is balanced by an equal and opposite problem. I am not talking about politics, I am talking about the people who come in believing as we did ten years ago that growth and development is a good thing who are matched by the delegates waiting in your lobby to tell you that growth and development is a bad thing for the environment, that it upsets the balance of nature and man and should be held back. Both are equally right, and what does Solomon do? Then comes the balance, that to me is fundamental, between the people coming to see the Governor who demand the action of Government—"Take direct forthright action, we do not want any planning, we want action." This group is counterbalanced by the next delegation that says "We have no trust in government action. Government is not responsive. Government should do less." How do you sort out that balance; how do you choose between the two?

There is a list of these balances, that in the interest of time I will spare you, but we come to the one that is most dramatic today: down through the years we heard the major problems of Government summed in some key word and identified as the principal problem whether it is peace or defense, attack on poverty, attack on depression, and finally, moving down through the years, it shifted to the environment. And we got so mixed up in the business of "war on" and "attack on" that shortly after the enactment of the program called the "war on poverty" I was invited to a place like this to speak on the "war on Appalachia" and I made a pretty good job of convincing the people

that we had declared war on Appalachia, and they were equally belligerent when we got to the question and answer session. But finally we have come most recently to try to sum up our domestic problems in the word inflation, and it seemed like we finally had a problem that we could write all the grants for and use as the buzz word to sell all the programs. Every program, obviously, became "counter inflationary" while previously each program had been "good for the environment" or "opposed to poverty" or whatever was the basic reason for getting the government's money.

We had just about settled down to live with inflation when the equal and opposite problem of depression came along. Now generally what you do to fight inflation is in one manner or another to spend money and you are damned if you do and you are damned if you don't. In starting this commission we worked with Frank Roosevelt Jr., and he told me a story which I enjoyed, but have not seen published anywhere. A simple one. He said his Father came home to dinner one evening one of those times when the whole family was together. He was usually conversational, but this evening he apparently had something on his mind that had to get rid of before he was ready to talk to his family. Finally he said "Eleanor, I figured it out, this is one of those days that no matter what I do I am wrong, and I am damned if I do and I am damned if I don't, and I came to the conclusion that when you are in such a situation, then is when you ought to do the right thing." What is the right thing when on the left if you save money you cost people jobs and on the right if you spend money you cost people their income? I think there is a twin edged word that attacks them both—productivity, that is, we spend that which we have.

I am not concerned about what level the increase in the Federal deficit becomes because I have very little to do with that choice, I would assume it would be as low as possible, but I am deeply concerned that we probably are presently worried about a Federal deficit beyond all reasonable imagination not because we saved or spent money over the last decade but because we spent unwisely. Had we had better systems for doing what we needed in Appalachia ten years ago for getting money through the pipelines targeted on the productive solution to the problem, every dollar would have been an investment. Each of those actions in the partnership would have made it possible for private enterprise to pay the taxes and provide the jobs, and that really is the basis of our system.

When we discovered ecology and the environment, and I have lived long enough to have seen us discover it; we really did not know it was there before; we did not worry so much about the upper atmosphere and the acid mine drainage in the deep waters of the ground until a very few years ago. When we discovered it, had we continued an ability to build into the selective expenditure of our dollars a true cost-benefit ratio, not an artificial one established in law, but one continuously established in the actual planning, getting together, talking, setting priorities, creating a plan at local and State levels where the problems are real and where they differ from locality to locality and from state to state, I would suggest to you that we could build today into our programs the costs of maintaining the environment and preserving a sound ecology.

So I have been talking about the need to achieve a balance, but I have used the second word repeatedly, and that is *choice*. I have heard conversations or talks in which people try to define rural values and I have a willingness to forego that completely except in one sense. To me the key to rural values is simply that I have a greater choice as to what my values will be in a rural area than I do in the city area, and the chief value that I cherish about rural life, which I claim personally at the cost of an hour to commute each morning and night, is the choice, a greater sense of choice. But choice bumps into balance because my choice, which might be the need for tax dollars to go for a good highway bumps into a city man's choice who needs mass transit. And it falls to the Governor Holshousers, if properly assisted all down the line by we citizens who claim we really want to be involved but who run when these Solomon-like decisions are called for. If we make choices down the line, the Governor is able to sort out mass transit and highways and rail and rural mass transit (which becomes very important) and we can begin if we invest in productivity to see growth and a sound ecology move forward together and in that kind of cost-benefit ratio we can build the kind of America in the next ten years that we have almost had for the first half century of my life. We have lived in and squandered a nation better than it is today. We must act much more wisely.

Now I will mention a third word which is a little bit subordinate to the other two but which to me is important, the word is *technique*. Both choice and balance imply subjective judgments, my choice and your balance or the other way around—highly subjective. Technique then of making the choice, technique by which I, if I act in good faith am able to make my choices in fair respect of my fellow citizen whose choices must be observed or my freedom will be subjected to attack and to protect his freedoms he will overreach the restrictions that he wants his government to have and my freedoms will be restricted. So if I am to have choice in balance, I have to understand technique. It is not enough to dream of a building like this or a painting on the wall—I can visualize these things in my mind—but until I understand the techniques of engineering stress and architectural detail and the mixing of pigments in the paints I cannot produce the results. Technique becomes the handmaiden of desire. It is essential that we learn technique. It seems to me that everything I have said up to now is kind of philosophic but very important to undergird technique, but that technique is really largely the subject of your conference.

Now two years ago we in Appalachia had problems as I have described. When I first started talking about Appalachian problems we were so far behind in Appalachia we did not even have modern problems—so I thought. I discovered after a few years of becoming a professional about modern problems; and some people say Appalachian problems, and some people say I was one of them, so I guess I am qualified to talk about it, I discovered that our problems were in fact modern problems.

When I look at the 1970 census and find this return of people, clearly recognized in the out-migration and in-migration figures, all of Appalachia shifted from heavy out-migration in 1970 to 4% across the whole region in-migration since 1970. This is a region in which in the

decade before that more people left Appalachia and went to the rest of the United States than entered the U.S. from the rest of the world. That is what we are talking about turning around in the clear expression of the choice of people—choice to return to a rural area, choice to return to Appalachia.

So as we look back at these kinds of problems and think about the techniques of solving them, I would say about rural development, which is the assemblage of techniques—we who specialize in rural development should be specialists in making development happen—and then if we build in at the outset the ability for people to choose what development they want to have happen and an ability in which the choices of various people can be reasonably balanced, then we begin to get into the techniques of simply really a kind of cost-benefit, a very real cost-benefit, there is a cost for everything and there is some benefit to everything.

What are the techniques of deciding how much we can afford and when we can afford it; when we should invest in the future; when we should recover those investments and cease to increase the deficit in Government? How do we make those kinds of choices?

Here is where I think we have to abandon the idea of rural development. The Governor I think said it, which makes it possible for me to say it, in very good language. Town and country do not meet at a hard line anymore. The country is not a place for agriculture, the country is the most desirable place in this country in which to live.

Now let me talk just for a minute about a trip. I have been talking about choice and I have been talking about how many people left the Appalachia region. I recall realizing when I went to Chicago and visited a twelve square block area where there are 40,000 Appalachians from North Carolina, Alabama, Tennessee, Kentucky, West Virginia and the other states all crammed in there, and I remember when I was there, census was being taken, and I remember noting that the unemployment data on Appalachia showed a very high unemployment, and at that time I remember that the unemployment in Chicago was low as a product of the city. I stood there in the middle of Chicago Appalachia and I said "There's somebody not telling somebody something. What is it?"

I put myself together a little scenario. I went in my mind down to Appalachia, Virginia, just to pick a town; then I went outside the town and I went way up the hollow to a little house and I was the census taker. I knocked on the door of the house and a man came out and said "I haven't got much time to talk to you fella, but I'll be glad to answer your questions if I can." He was busy packing. Out in the yard he had an old car that looked like it wouldn't go anywhere and on the top he was putting some cardboard boxes and some cardboard suitcases and inside more kids than I could count and several adults. That was a Conestoga Wagon if I have ever seen one. There was a man who probably did not have lunch money and maybe barely gasoline money who was undertaking the trek to Chicago. He told me he was going to live with kinfolks. As a census taker I would find out, at the day of his leaving, a variety of things about his education and his health and I would classify him as a rural resident. And had my counterpart in Chicago, a couple of weeks later, knocked on the door of a one room apartment, he would have found this family living

with another family and he would have counted the same number of people and he would have found the same answers about rural and educational standards and some place he would have marked down urban residents. Now what changed? The trip.

What kind of a trip is it that changes the census data of this whole country? We all know that the people who are out of opportunity in Appalachia go first. Where? To the center city and they go there to stand on the hiring corner for whatever jobs they can get. Those who do not make it on the hiring corner finally go back to Appalachia. Those who make it on the hiring corner save their money, some barely make it, but some begin to move out from the center city to the older neighborhoods in the city and they get a regular job. And they work and save their money and after a while they move again out from the city to the suburbs.

Now what is a suburb? I lived in one up until a few years ago. A suburb is a place that a fellow goes to with his family that is close enough to his job that he can reach it once a day and get back home, and as far away as possible—that is the definition of a suburb. The suburb is the fastest growing part of the U.S. The last two census sets of data tell us that the center cities are not growing and the rural areas are not growing; what is growing is the suburbs. So what is growing? A place a man could get a job but be as far away from the city as possible. Now planners have begun to put that concept to work because if he really gets on as the foreman and makes a good deal of money in the GE Plant he moves on out of the suburbs to a country estate, as he calls it, but which is as close to the place he left ten years ago as possible, and he will raise a few cows and chickens, not because he needs them, but because it is home.

Was that trip necessary? Could we have possibly produced a job at much less cost to our taxpayers, at much less damage to our environment, at much less threat to the freedom of mankind in the removal of choices that comes about in the creation of super cities where regulation and high cost must harness the citizen to an impossible world and make that which he lives only in the dream of being able to run away from it. And he is there making money hoping he can make enough to be able to go some place else where he does not have to make that much money. I see people in Washington trying to save enough money to be able to afford a lesser salary to come back to North Carolina and the lucky ones make it.

That is what rural development is all about, but when we think about this trip I think that we have to really cease to divide ourselves politically as we do in this country into the urbanists and the rural block. They need us. The city people of this country need our rural land, it is the only frontier of opportunity left. The ones who choose the city, and many do, let them have it. I do not speak in haughty disregard of the city just in selfish disregard of it. I despise it. I try not to live there. Those who enjoy whatever it is they find there, they are privileged to do so. But there will be enough of them to make the city problems hard to handle. If we move out into this country and build a new area community, and here is where I move to the abandonment of rural development.

Before we get too haughty about the urban fellows and what they have, nearly every objective of rural development is the creation of an

urban service. We are somewhat like the little girl who grew up in a Southern family and it came time for her to go to College. They finally were about to select one of several colleges and some of them were in New England and some of them were still down South. She had this conversation with her Mother and she said "Mother you have got to help me. I have to make this choice. I want to go to a good school, but Mother you and I know good and well that I want to meet some boys and have some fun. Now I don't know anything about Northern boys, can you tell me how it would be if I went up to a Northern school?" Her Mother said, "well I can make it kind of complicated, but let me simplify it. In my opinion, Northern boys make more money than Southern boys do, but Southern boys make better love." And the girl thought about it for a minute and then she said, "Mother it's clear to me. I want a Southern boy as far North as I can get him."

In the country we want a rural life as close to an urban situation as we can get it. We want to build in the rural areas a good life for those who want to practice agriculture, but mostly a good life for those who by choice want to live in the balanced environment not yet that badly damaged. Now this means we have to concentrate on technique.

I will mention three quick code words, *scale*, *scope* and *rate*. I use these always to test what I am doing. The *scale* of the problem is changed. Most of the problems are bigger than they used to be, although if you go to New York City you will find they are trying to scale down. The city is too big and their area development districts are less than the whole community. The scale, however, is important, and in rural areas we cannot solve the kind of problems we are talking about in each little crossroads community. Now you do not have to wipe out that community. We do not even have to go with the political scientists who for years have told us that we ought to wipe out County lines. That is not necessary. We can have a number of counties together, do that scale of attack on the things that they need the scale of attack for and we do this through the development district.

Then the word *scope*. You cannot solve a health problem unless you build some roads for people to get around on and unless, in many cases, you educate the people to be willing to accept the health services—I do not have to define for you the interrelationships. Scope, and the minute we get into scope, having a broader scope of program in rural areas, we have to deal with partnerships. Scope comes about not by being totally comprehensive, and many of us think that every problem has to be a part of a comprehensive solution, but really every problem depends on linkages; you get to be total in our scope because each pair of people talk together and then links to somebody else just as the nerves in the nervous system practice the same synaptic link in moving a message from mind to muscle. We do this in government and we do this in enterprise. But it is necessary to expand the scope and this means we must have some professional staff, and here again in the attack in our area development approach we find that we can bring this technique to bear.

Rate to me has to do with planning for the future. We move at such a rate that we must put down where we are going, and I don't care whether that is done by planning principles, it would probably be

better if so, but it is more essential that it be done with involvement of the people who have to make those choices.

So we have this kind of partnership. If we apply these three kinds of techniques, what we come out with is not really rural development, it is area development. And the practice of the Appalachian Program is simply the perfection, as far as we have been able to go in each of our States, of the business of area development. The Appalachian Commission has no program. We build no highways. We build no schools. We do nothing that anyone could find out about. And yet Congress still appropriates this money. Why is it so? Because we are nothing but a pipeline, the crook in the pipeline that we talked about, a place within which Governors can say "Move the money this way." A place in which the Mayor and the County Judge can say "It's gotten down this far to me, now crook it again because our problem this year is that we need an extension of our sewer system." This is not the year we need to build a vocational school. Ten years ago, if you had the money for a vocational school and didn't have the money for the sewer lines you built the school. If you already had one, that's fine, you'd build two. Not many people came out that way but I know some who did. And I helped them do it.

Now we are trying to apply this kind of approach to this final business of selecting, of choosing within a balance and select those things which are most productive against the goals that we set in our local system of choosing. That is called area development and that is what we are talking about. If we can learn from people at meetings like this, maybe we can handle the vastly changed and complicated problems of the next ten years because if we have more problems, there is no question but that enrichment and opportunity are just around the corner.

PART II

ALTERNATIVES FOR RURAL DEVELOPMENT

INTRODUCTION

(By Burton L. Purrington, Associate Professor of Anthopology, Appalachian State University, Boone, N.C.)

One of the major characteristics of the evolution of rural America has been its generally unplanned nature. Today we find that rural America has largely been relegated to the status of urban America's "back 40" as commercial recreational developments, resource extracting and agricultural corporations, industries, governmental agencies, and the suburbs take over the countryside. A concept of rural "development" was by and large accepted by the participants in the session on "Alternatives for Rural Development," but the concept was defined in a variety of ways and diverse approaches were suggested for its implementation.

Plenary session speakers William Bonner (whose paper doesn't appear herein) and James Spencer, as well as many other conference participants, emphasized a need for the development on the local level of a concept of regionalism and the need for a comprehensive national development policy that includes both urban and rural areas. However, Spencer sees rural development as essentially a process of bringing rural America into a more functional role as "part of an interdependent web that is a developing industrial urban society," while Bonner sees rural development as part of a national development policy in which the Federal government recognizes the predicament and the value of the land and the people in rural America and provides differential treatment for this area to insure its conservation and rehabilitation. A radically different approach is that of the Yugoslavs, described by Brian Bennett, who largely leave the planning and implementation of community development up to local worker councils thus preserving local identity and integrity through the minimization of domination by the national government or outside commercial enterprises.

The plenary papers describe a variety of general approaches to rural development including physical types of developments, guidance strategies, and institutional mechanisms. Specific rural development problems were concentrated on by three of these workshops. The workshops focused on such problem areas in rural America as transportation, industrial development, recreational development, and urban expansion. A general theme in the majority of these papers

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is that the context and the problems of rural America are significantly different from those of urban America. Frequently rural development programs have been based on models and strategies designed for the cities and have failed. National, regional and local development policies must recognize the distinctiveness (uniqueness?) of the rural environment and new developmental programs for rural America should be appropriately designed.

The fourth workshop was on rural development outside the United States and added much needed breadth to the conference. Future planning for rural America should not be innocent of experience gained internationally.

RURAL DEVELOPMENT: AN ACTIVITY IN SEARCH OF DIRECTION

(By James A. Spencer, AIP, Director, Graduate School of Planning, University of Tennessee, Knoxville, Tenn.)

Those who formulate and implement public policy for rural development must deal with a number of variables. This paper seeks to provide an overview of some of the issues associated with rural development.

THE DEFINITION OF THE PROBLEM

The absence of a widely accepted definition of Rural Development is evident. Many sources stress the non-metropolitan quality of rural areas and recognize the view that small urban communities are part of rural America. It is important to recognize that we are all prisoners of our language and that we cannot avoid the meanings we habitually give to such terms as rural and urban. We must deal with the common usage of these terms as well as the definitions which we give in the context of formal papers. In some definitions an independent city of 40,000 would be part of a rural region and its development would be rural development. Rural development may be described in such a way as to include housing development which occurs within a city of forty thousand people in a highly urbanized form, but we all recognize that housing scattered randomly about the countryside has a very different quality and different implications for the life style of the inhabitants. We need to sharpen our views in order to recognize that rural development at the large regional scale may be urban development at the local level.

The development occurring in cities of twe[illegible]ive to fifty thousand people is rural development in a regional context but the life style which it describes and the cost of providing public services is decidedly different from what occurs when that same development is scattered in the surrounding countryside. Thus when we look within a rural region we will see that some of the development has qualities which most of us intuitively associate with urban living and some of it has qualities which we typically associate with rural living. Farming, forestry, agricultural businesses, mining activities, second homes, dispersed industry and dispersed housing are activities which take on special impacts by virtue of their location within a rural area. Farming which is encompassed by urban-style development is constrained in a variety of ways that do not occur when farming is carried on outside an area of urban-style development. When farming is encompassed by urban-style development frictions result because of complaints by residential homeowners over the use of pesticides or the presence of odors or other activities that would be routinely accepted when that

same activity occurs in the open countryside. The development of an industrial plant in a city of forty thousand people is different in its impact from the development of that same plant in the open countryside ten or fifteen miles from a collection of small cities. In the first instance public services would be readily at hand and the plant would be a relatively short commuting distance for a substantial part of the labor force. In the second instance many services would have to be provided by the industry itself or at substantial expense by one of the nearby communities or not provided at all. The labor force would come from a more dispersed population with greater travel costs.

When we fine-tune our view of rural and urban development we see that the general economic development and regional planning considerations that are the primary issue when looking at a large region take on a different aspect when we look at the same development in closer detail. At one level of inquiry our focus of attention tends to be on economic growth and development while at a level of finer detail we begin to zero in on the quality of that development with respect to its immediate environs and the population directly affected.

Any discussion of rural development must take into account the fact that we live in an urban society and that rural and urban events are closely linked together. The rural areas are linked to our metropolitan areas in a variety of ways.

Second home developments are an example of the extension of urban living into remote areas. Although often located in remote areas, they strongly resemble conventional suburbs in density and service requirements. An investigation of the Gatlinburg, Tennessee area showed that certain of these developments are extensions of cities. One second home subdivision has a heavy concentration of weekend visitors from Cincinnati while a nearby development is heavily populated on weekends by Atlanta residents.

Even the farmer of today is a businessman and industrialist. He serves and requires the services of a larger area than his agrarian predecessor needed. In order to prosper he must operate expensive machinery on a large scale. He lives with modern conveniences and is connected to the world through the same newspapers and television channels his city neighbor uses. His children attend modern consolidated schools and look forward to college. His wife may work in a nearby town to supplement the family income. Improved highways give him ready access to the specialized products, services and entertainment of large cities. The small family farms which our memories clothe in nostalgia—those divorced from the hustle and bustle of the twentieth century—are as antiquated as one-room schools and buggy whips. Whether we live in the country, a small town or a metropolis, we are all a part of an interdependent web that is developing industrial urban society.[1]

THE VARIETY OF ALTERNATIVES

There are at least three kinds of alternatives which we should consider in looking at rural development:

A. *Physical development alternatives*

Six potential components to the physical development of rural areas are discussed below:

1. *Growth at the fringe* of our metropolitan areas has accounted for a significant proportion of the total growth and development in this country in the last twenty years.

[1] Spencer, James A., "The South: Land of Change," *Central*, October 1970, p. 6.

Over half of the 1970 metropolitan population lived outside the central city and suburban areas captured almost all the metropolitan growth during the decade. In fact, declining central cities lost more people in the 1960's than were lost by declining rural counties.[2]

In some cases this growth has occurred in satellite municipalities that are reasonably well-equipped to deal with the problems of growth by providing ample controls on that growth process and providing public services to the new development. In other cases this growth has spilled into areas where local governments, such as counties, were unprepared by training or experience to deal with the growth problems. In these areas there has been a lack of control and a lack of financial and technical resources to deal effectively with the development. In both instances there are often stresses between the old-timers and the new-comers for control of the local political machinery and the setting of priorities for community development decisions. There is also some conflict between the outlying communities because of significant variation in income levels, jobs and tax resources.

In both instances the inhabitants of these communities have tended to be tied culturally, socially and economically to the central city. No matter how they are categorized, the inhabitants of these areas, that is those who have migrated from the central cities, or from a similar satellite community of another central city, tend to view themselves as urban people.

The impact of this development pattern at a scale of the larger region may be positive in such measures as population growth, increased economic activity, increased tax resources, etc. The major stress in this pattern of growth is the conflict between the central city and the surrounding satellite communities. The satellite communities drain off the best resources of the entire metropolitan area in terms of high income, populations, clean industries, etc. They leave behind them the low-income and racial minority groups plus a wide array of public facilities that are enjoyed by the metropolitan area but must be financially supported by the central city: zoos, museums, regional parks, etc.

2. A second alternative is the enhancement of designated growth centers in large rural regions. The growth center concept has been fostered by large regional agencies such as the Appalachian Regional Commission in an attempt to define those non-metropolitan communities within a large region which had a sufficient critical mass of skills and resources to provide a logical base for accommodating additional growth with relatively little difficulty and with positive over-all results. These growth centers, ranging in size from small metropolitan areas down to communities of twenty thousand or so, were given a favored status as the recipients of federal funds for highways, health care facilities and other public investments that would foster additional growth. The rationale for this concept is relatively straightforward.

There are difficulties with the concept however. First, the favored status that these communities acquire for receipt of various public funds created a strong political pressure for all communities to be designated as growth centers. As a practical consequence the number of communities designated as growth centers will inevitably grow with the resulting dispersal of funds and the reduction of the impact of

[2] Commission on Population Growth and the American Future. *Population and the American Future* (New York: Signet, 1972), p. 33.

those funds. The second difficulty with this concept is that it does not deal effectively with the problems of providing public services and facilities in the most rural parts of the region where it is toughest to provide them. In this context the residents of the region not designated as growth centers may argue that additional help is being given to those communities that are already better off and that the communities with the most severe problems are being abandoned to shift for themselves as best they can. The use of growth centers as a regional concept of economic development does not necessarily produce the regional network of service for health care, shopping and education that is needed to provide adequate service to the people outside the growth center. Care must be taken to see that the provision of services is not lost as an objective in the quest for economic development.

3. The growth of existing small communities is a relatively nonglamorous prospect that has not been given much attention in the literature. In spite of this there is considerable evidence that there is a strong preference among many people for living in small communities or semi-rural environments if urban amenities are available. The Tennessee Valley is similar to many regions that have experienced population declines and out migration in depressed rural areas.

> The region differs from most others in that it is experiencing both the greatest growth and the highest rate of growth in its smaller and medium-sized towns and their environs rather than in its larger cities. The most recent data also indicates a 63 percent increase in non farm employment in the Tennessee Valley region between 1967 and 1969 occurred outside metropolitan areas, as opposed to a comparable national increase of only 21 percent. The resulting urban forms have taken the shape of either satellite cities surrounding an urban core, or a cluster of small towns so integrally related as to effectively create viable economic and social units.[3]

A Wisconsin study has given some insight on locational preference affecting small community growth.

> Previous research on preferences revealed a very strong desire for rural areas and small towns, and proponents of population redistribution strategies interpreted this as support for their policies. But when we introduced the additional possibility of a preference for proximity to a large city, then the preference for rural areas becomes, more specifically, rural areas within the commuting range of a metropolitan central city. In summary, very few of those small town respondents already living in metropolitan areas prefer to live further away; yet slightly over half of those in nonmetropolitan areas would like to live closer to a central city and within the metropolitan commuting range.[4]

4. The use of new towns to accommodate growth in rural areas has been an attractive idea since Ebenezer Howard published his book, "Garden Cities of Tomorrow" in the 1890's. After a long period of promoting the idea and building some demonstration communities the British Government embarked on a national program of new town construction in the late 1940's that has shown the potential for diverting growth from further congestion of metropolitan areas into a system of satellite cities adjacent to the metropolitan centers. A substantial number of planned new communities have been constructed in our own country since 1900, some in connection with national demonstration policies related to rural development. During the 1960's and early

[3] Dickenson, Rebecca M., Unpublished Memorandum, TVA Regional Planning Staff, 1972, p. 2.

[4] Fuguitt, Glenn V. and Zriches, James J., "Residential Preferences: Implications for Population Redistribution in Non-Metropolitan Areas" Paper presented to the American Association for the Advancement of Science, Philadelphia, PA, 1971, p. 1.

70's new towns enjoyed considerable publicity and favor in the public press as such attractive places as Columbia, Maryland and Reston, Virginia became widely known to the public.

There are many aspects of new town development that make them attractive as mechanisms for absorbing new growth. Their location can be selected to best fit the particular use to which they are to be put, they can be designed to fit specific purposes, they can be developed in such a way as to foster a balance of the internal population with respect to income, education and race, and the development can be controlled in such a way as to provide a high level of public service and amenity with considerable efficiency of public expenditures. In spite of the apparent attractiveness and logic of new town development, the concept has never become an integral part of national policy on a sufficient scale to have significant impact on national development patterns. There are many reasons for this.

New town development requires a massive expenditure of investment funds before revenues can be realized to recover those funds. Water and sewage systems must be built, roads must be built, and housing, factories and commercial facilities must be erected. The acquisition of land, a time and money factor, and the time required to accomplish the physical development process makes it impossible for property to be sold in time for the resulting revenue to be returned to the investor quickly. If the front-end money for new town development is being borrowed the interest cost can be prohibitive. This cash-flow problem means that new towns must either be sponsored by government which can afford to wait many years for a return on the investment or be sponsored by private investors who are given some financial incentive or guarantees by the government to assure the eventual return of their money. In either case the costs are highly visible in the short run while the intangible and tangible benefits are in the distant future. This order of events has seldom been attractive to politicians or businessmen.

A second factor inhibiting the use of new towns as a major component in growth policy is the difficulty of creating the necessary institutional mechanisms in a new community. New communities cannot be built in a vacuum. Even when constructed in areas that would be characterized as very rural, there will be some resident population that will be impacted in either highly favorable or unfavorable ways and there will be local units of government: counties, school boards, utility districts, etc. The new town developer faces a maze of institutional problems. For example, at what point should the new town acquire governmental status with the power of self determination by the inhabitants? It is a natural expectation of the inhabitants of a new town that they will be citizens of a community with the power to vote and to determine their own destiny. On the other hand the developer of a new town loses control of the direction and pace of the development when the creation of a new local government occurs. If it occurs too early in the process it may threaten the developer's plans which are critical in determining whether or not the overall project shows a profit or loss.

The preparation of regional development maps showing new town locations and the design of new communities and facilities are rela-

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tively straightforward tasks that can be accomplished with existing technical skills. The truly difficult problems with new town development are the institutional problems that revolve around the financing of new towns and the relationship between the creation of a new unit of local government and existing impacted units of local government.

5. An alternative to new town development is now being investigated by the Tennessee Valley Authority. This is the proposal for the development of a system of rural villages. In this concept a multicounty development authority supported with appropriate state enabling legislation would undertake the development of a series of new rural neighborhoods or villages of about three thousand people each.[5] These villages would be essentially residential developments with supporting public services and neighborhood commercial facilities. They would be developed in such a way that the public investment would be held to a minimum and private developers would be used to the maximum extent possible. They would develop residential areas in much the same way that traditional subdivision development occurs. The public development agency would provide support in developing the necessary public infrastructure. A key element in this proposal would be the attempt made to locate these villages in a pattern of mutually supporting locations which would provide easy access to nearby small cities. These small cities would be the location of employment opportunities and more specialized professional and personal services. These villages represent an effort to make possible the fulfillment of many peoples' desire to live in a small town or rural environment while still enjoying many of the benefits of urban living.

The concept would simultaneously attack two different kinds of problems. On the other hand, it would avoid many of the difficulties of new town development, being done at a sufficiently small scale to allow local governments and private developers to handle the process with relatively little risk and without great financial stress. At the same time they would provide a mechanism for channelling rural area development into areas of sufficient compactness and definition to make it possible to provide a reasonably broad range of public services in an economical fashion. This would be a highly desirable alternative to the scatteration and sprawl of urban type uses into the countryside with lower levels of public service to that development and with the additional infringement of urbanites into conflicts with agricultural interests. It is too early to render judgment on the program but the concept appears sufficiently promising to be worth careful observation and testing around the country.

6. There is little to be said in favor of the random development we typically observe in rural areas except that it accommodates free choice by home buyers and others, at least in the short run. By definition the random development is without a basic design rationale. It frequently produces a ribbon of development along existing roadways with single family housing on one acre lots spotted among mobile homes, small commercial establishments and farms. Provision of garbage collection, fire protection, water and sewer service and police

[5] Elk River Development Association and the Tennessee Valley Authority, "Arrangements for the Development and Management of the Lower Elk Rural Villages." Fayetteville, Tennessee, 1974.

protection is either expensive or non-existent. It does bring to residents of these areas some of the benefits of rural living, cleaner air and lower density living areas, at the cost of lower public services and increased transportation costs. It produces the impression of denser development in rural areas than actually exists because nearly all the development is visible from the only roadways providing access to the countryside.

B. *Alternative guidance strategies*

Several approaches to implementation of rural development policies may be used. They include:

1. A policy of non-guidance would be present when there is an absence of an overall integrating policy at the various levels of government with respect to rural development. In this situation development would occur as it will, molded by the various social and economic forces of the country. This approach to rural development is deceptive because it suggests that there is no guidance to rural development. This would be an incorrect perception. It would be more accurate to say that there is no visible public guidance to rural development in this situation. The absence of visible public policy for the guidance of rural development does not mean that development occurs in the absence of outside influences. A wide variety of public and private actions would in fact determine the future course of rural development. Certainly the impact of technological developments in agriculture on the migration patterns of farm families to urban areas during the 1950's and 60's is a good example of how private decisions and actions have a major impact on one aspect of rural regions.

There are many public actions which may be undertaken for other purposes but which have substantial impact on rural development. The actions of State and local government in the taxing of rural land, for example, may have substantial impact on whether or not land is sold for urban development, put into cultivation, left to lie fallow or converted to forestry. The extension of utility services, especially public water, into the scattered housing areas of the countryside may be undertaken for the purpose of providing a service to the inhabitants to these regions but it can have a great impact as a stimulant of additional development in areas where the service is provided. In this context, the activities of the Farmers Home Administration in financing utility systems and rural housing have had more impact than the policies and programs of official planning agencies. The accumulation of such ad hoc public and private actions does in fact add up to the total set of forces that determine the future of rural development. The question then is not one of whether or not there will be a guidance system but whether or not that system will be visible, open to public observation and comment, and subject to influence by the public through its laws and other decisions.

2. The use of control mechanisms to guide rural developments is often viewed with disfavor. The most direct and comprehensive kind of control would be an exercise of the police power in the control of land use. To date, only one state Hawaii, has adotped state-wide land-use controls. That state is obviously a unique circumstance both in political, cultural and in physical characteristics. The notion of

direct public control of the use of land is viewed distastefully by a majority of people in the rural areas outside urban places. We could spend time talking about the misconceptions and false apprehensions associated with that control but the degree of resistance at this time suggests that it would not be worthwhile to do so.

It should be noted, however, that direct controls of piecemeal kind are being adopted to an increasing degree. Several states have adopted legislation that controls land-use in areas of critical state concern. In Vermont, for example, where tourism is a major industry, the state has taken upon itself the right of reviewing subdivision developments that occur above a set elevation in order to protect scenic vistas and mountainous areas and is also reviewing all large scale land developments. Other states are following suit with legislation designed to protect areas of critical state importance such as areas that are environmentally fragile, areas that have historic importance and areas that have substantial scenic or recreational value.

In addition to these zoning and subdivision type controls, there are other federal and state actions that affect in various ways the type and character of rural development. State and federal legislation on scenic rivers, reclamation of strip mines, and state health regulation controlling the use of on-site sewage disposal are examples. While these various controls seem of little consequence individually, their accumulated effect may be significant in some states.

3. A third kind of guidance system is the use of an incentive guidance policy. This policy would emphasize the notion that public investment decisions and tax practices have an impact on developmental decisions. These have been referred to as priming actions. They are most readily observed in urban areas. The provision of a new highway, for example, providing access to an undeveloped suburban fringe may stimulate growth to occur adjacent to the new highway interchanges rather than in other parts of the urban fringe where transportation facilities are already congested. In like manner development will tend to cluster around schools and employment opportunities. Having recognized this attribute of public investments, we can use public investment decisions on such things as roadway improvements, utility systems and health care facilities, as devices to foster the concentration of certain kinds of growth in certain locations or to avoid its concentration in other locations.

C. *Alternative institutional mechanisms*

One of the most important kinds of alternatives is the choice we make of institutional mechanisms for planning and guiding rural development. Our federal system provides opportunity for a role in these processes by federal, state and local governments. What then is the role of each? Where does the leadership come from for design of a meaningful rural development program and how do the roles of these various levels of government relate to each other? Is it possible, for example, to have a meaningful rural development program at the local level in the absence of coherent federal or state rural development policies?

Issues tend to segregate themselves to the various levels of government depending on the scope and importance of the issue. The migration of large numbers of rural farm families to the urban centers of

the North and Northeast during the 1950's and 60's could never be dealt with effectively by the local level acting alone. At the most, local communities could take note of what was happening and try to respond to the most critical issues presented by that migration pattern. The phenomenon was a national phenomenon of national importance. It could be influenced only by direct, conscious intervention of the federal government to influence the stimulation of job opportunities or the provision of housing facilities in a particular location to entice the migrants who were being displaced from farm areas.

Some issues will tend to settle naturally at the state level if the states are sufficiently alert and aggressive to take up their role. A large privately developed recreation complex similar to Disney World was recently announced for immediate development in Tennessee adjacent to the Great Smoky Mountains National Park. The impact of this facility, if built as described in the news media, will spill over into several adjoining counties and will directly impact the Smoky Mountains National Park as well. Yet the decision to build this facility is being reviewed and acted upon primarily by local officials in the host county. It is not intended to argue here whether the total impact of this facility will be positive or negative. It is suggested that the costs and benefits will fall out over a substantially larger area than is the responsibility of the public officials who are giving sanction to the development. It is an example of a major rural area land development that is of sufficient importance to have some level of state review and control.

A complicating factor is the role of special function districts that may lap over a number of local jurisdictions in the provision of a specific service such as, water or solid waste collection or health care. The dilemma of effective local involvement with rural development is that the smallest size unit which can be planned effectively is frequently larger than the county or other single political jurisdiction. At the very least a multi-county planning effort is usually required to encompass sufficient aspects of the development issue to make the planning meaningful and comprehensive. The difficulty is that the placement of planning in this multi-county or regional mode tends to remove it from the direct participation of general purpose governments. In this situation the planning agency may serve with modest effectiveness as a coordinating agency and communications forum for the local officials within an area or region. In very few cases, however, are these area-wide or regional planning agencies linked directly to the implementation powers of a general government such as a municipality or a county. This distance between the planning function and the decision making powers necessary for implementation tends to lessen the impact of the regional or area-wide planning function. This remains a genuine dilemma. It is easy to say that the problem would be lessened by consolidating local governments so that we had, for example, fewer counties which were larger and more rational planning and administrative units. We all know, however, that most people feel sufficiently distant from their local units of government already and are not at all anxious to have local governments consolidated even if it were sought by the political leadership in their communities. The way in which we blend the use of the various units of government from the federal to the state level, and the general governments with spe-

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cial purpose agencies, will impact the use of various guidance strategies and the selection of various physical development strategies.

THE LINGERING ISSUES

It should be recognized that the kinds of alternatives described above are not mutually exclusive. A new towns strategy does not have to be adopted to the exclusion of other development options. A control strategy does not preclude an incentive strategy. And if a leadership role is taken by the federal government or by the states, it does not lessen the need for active participation of local government. In any of these strategies there are lingering issues to be faced. One such issue is the impact of the energy crisis on rural development. The style of technologically dependent agriculture that has evolved in recent decades is highly dependent on energy. It cannot be assumed that the large scale, corporate agricultural enterprise is the most energy efficient agricultural form. Also, the dispersal of population into systems of rural villages and small cities assumes a high mobility for access to jobs and services. Is it more or less energy efficient than the concentration of people and economic activity into larger centers? Can we develop shared-ride transportation systems that will effectively serve this dispersed rural population? This problem area is not going to go away. We need to face up to it and we need better information on its dimensions.

We must also do a better job of educating our people to live in an urban society with a regional consciousness. Much of our culture has historically been anti-urban.[6] We may choose as individuals whether to live in the countryside, town or city. We cannot choose as a nation to bolster one and neglect the others. Our educational system must do a better job of creating in the general public an understanding of the nature of our urban society. One product of that understanding would be a sense of regional identity rather than the intense localism now exhibited in public hearings and annexation squabbles. You will hear the need for areawide and regional approaches stressed again and again in this conference. The long term utility of such approaches will depend on a sense of regional identity shared broadly in the public. Such an identity will not appear by magic. It must be fostered by knowledge and awareness of issues.

One of the major issues in rural development is whether to try to create a comprehensive strategy all at once with respect to physical alternatives, guidance strategies, and institutional mechanisms or whether to accumulate it gradually by dealing with critical problems on an ad hoc basis and gradually pull together diverse programs into an overall strategy. The former approach appears more logical but is politically difficult because it requires the development of concensus among many public and private groups. The latter strategy is less tidy but does allow progress to be made incrementally toward an overall strategy and does provide some attention to critical problems. We seem to be using the latter strategy.

This overview suggests that rural development is a complex concept applied in a country of great diversity. It is unlikely that a single

[6] White, Morton and Lucia, "The Intellectual Versus the City (New York: Mentor Books), 1964.

model will serve satisfactorily to satisfy this diversity and the needs of our country, but there is a need for a comprehensive national development policy, urban and rural. Other countries, such as England, have had national policies on development for more than 20 years. To suggest that it cannot be done here is to fly in the face of reason. To say that it is difficult and time consuming is to acknowledge a fact. But state and local governments will always be susceptible to the effects of federal decisions, that influence rural development, intended or not. A national development policy would serve as a test of the rationality of various federal programs that impact local development. It would provide a framework within which state governments, regional agencies and local governments could develop mutually supportive programs with sufficient life span to have a meaningful effect. We need a rural development policy that is part of a national development policy.

RURAL TRANSPORTATION AND INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENT

INTRODUCTION AND SUMMARY

(By David C. Robinson, Director, Mass Transit, North Carolina Department of Transportation, Raleigh, N.C.)

There can be no doubt that rural planning may be improved by recognizing that rural transportation problems are very different from those of urban areas. Thus it is necessary to seek rural transit solutions that are consistent with rural life styles. Buses, vans, automobiles and bicycles are all modes of transportation utilized by rural dwellers as they seek to satisfy their travel needs, particularly the journey to centers of employment.

As emphasized in one of the papers delivered at this session, it is apparent that the day of rural public transportation has arrived. In North Carolina the Department of Transportation and Highway Safety has only recently begun activities focusing upon rural mass transit. It is obvious that in a state where more than fifty-five percent of the population is classified rural, we must give the proper proportional attention to rural aspects of any mass transportation assistance program.

Other papers delivered at this session focused upon new information relating to the character and feasibility of rural industrialization, and upon rural bikeways. In the latter paper, the only one not published herewith, Mr. John Thomas presented a methodology for route selection in the development of rural bike systems.

THE FUTURE OF RURAL PUBLIC TRANSPORTATION[1]

(By Dr. Arthur Saltzman, Transportation Institute, North Carolina Agriculture and Technical University, Greensboro, N.C.)

I am going to enjoy the task of talking about rural public transportation because I have some very positive projections about what the future holds in store for us. One thing is for certain—there will be change. These changes will take place in the following areas: (1) planning and managing, (2) funding, (3) institutions and organizations, and (4) regulations. I purposely did not mention any changes in the technology we use to transport people in rural areas. There may be better small buses designed in the next ten year period, but I foresee few other technical innovations that will have any impact on public transportation in rural areas. Let me tell you the kinds of changes I predict in each of these areas.

Planning and managing systems

An earlier article I wrote on para-transit was titled "Taking the Mass Out of Mass Transportation." This theme of providing more personalized services to transit users is one that is especially important for serving the elderly and handicapped. Transportation planners should become more sensitive to the individuals who desire public transportation and their individual needs and trip making desires.

After years of neglect, there is a growing realization that there are persons in rural areas who need public transportation. This is a relatively new field and, thus, presents an opportunity to avoid the mistakes we made in urban areas when we thought that simply adding routes to the existing structure was what transportation planning was all about. With the emergence of demand responsive transportation systems, we are finally getting the message that door-to-door service on demand is what the public wants. The success of the automobile should be a lesson to us. People have opted for the automobile because it has superior characteristics to mass transportation. Especially in rural areas, we cannot plan for masses of people because of the low population densities and the relatively few people living in these areas who are demanding our services.

It may be obvious to say that we need to plan personalized service; that we do not need high capacity systems; and that we should concentrate on low capital intensive systems. But I think that all of these comments are worth repeating and talking about because all too often, we see an overzealous politician or planner who decides he needs a mono-rail system for his city of 50,000 persons which, in fact, can

[1] This report is a product of a research effort sponsored by the Program University Research of the Department of Transportation under Contract DOT–OS–40005. The results and views expressed represent the position of the authors and not necessarily that of the Department of Transportation.

barely support a small bus operation. Another example of this sort of transit overkill occurs when UMTA receives a request for a fleet of 100 buses, each capable of carrying 50 passengers on the 23 routes planned for a city of 30,000 population. Small towns and rural areas do not need monorail systems or any type of expensive capital intensive system. I do not know how often these requests are received at UMTA, but I do recall similar systems being suggested for a rural county in my own state. If you think the tax burdens of the BART System on San Francisco residents are exhorbitant and D.C.'s METRO Subway System is going to prove expensive to the local taxpayers, just imagine, for example, what a mono-rail system would do to the tax rate of the 36,424 residents of Putnam County, Florida where the average family income is $5,400.

The sum of my comments on planning are, as illustrated by Peter Schauer with OATS in Missouri and John Lawson in Live Oak, Florida, that we need to deal with individual trip needs and not try to bring urban technology to rural areas. We, instead, should take the mass out of mass transit in rural areas.

A well planned system, however, will not automatically be successful. It also must be well managed. Now where can we find good managers? In the research on rural public transportation that we have been doing at North Carolina A & T State University, we have found that the manager was crucial to the success or failure of each rural transit system we surveyed. We need skilled, full-time managers operating our systems. Let me also emphasize that it is not only the managerial skills that are important, but entrepreneurial skills which are needed in developing contracts with other agencies and gaining local support. I can't overemphasize the need for securing local support.

We have to find and train new persons to operate our systems and offer salaries that can attract these new people. What I am suggesting is a new thrust in training. In our universities which have transportation planning curricula, we are currently concentrating on producing urban transportation planners who are competent in modal split analysis but are not sensitive to the individual needs of those who are transit dependent. I believe a new academic option must be made available that would train students who are interested in planning and managing transit in the smaller towns and rural areas.

Funding and legislation

The biggest financial influence on all public transportation has been the federal government. Federal influence on rural and urban transportation will continue to be the largest influence. Historically, this influx of federal funds for highways started in rural areas and much later came to urban areas. The first federal funds for transportation were for roads in rural areas designed mainly to carry produce and agricultural products to market. Not until the Federal Aid Highway Act of 1944 did the urban areas receive any federal dollars for their highway construction.

On the other hand, in contrast with the highway situation, the federal government did not get involved in financing public mass transportation until the 1960's, and the initial legislation was oriented towards urban areas. It is only recently that federal funds have begun

flowing to solve transportation problems in rural areas. First it was the Office of Economic Opportunity (OEO) which got into public transportation in rural areas, and now the Department of Transportation and the Administration on Aging are joining them.

We have heard about the large number of sources of funds available for public transportation, but let me concentrate on the two that will be the major shaping forces in rural public transportation for the next few years. Section 147 of the Federal Aid Highway Act of 1973 provides for a demonstration program in rural public highway transportation. It has excellent potential. It is emphatically a demonstration program and strictly that. There is no intent for it to be anything but a demonstration program. There will be a number of systems funded in various regions that should help us learn more about how to better provide public transportation services in rural areas.

Hopefully, the current legislation will be extended so we can have projects funded for more than one year's duration. This multiple year funding is critical because most systems will not reach their peak ridership levels until they have been in existence at least one or two years. We must allow for ridership growth to occur before judging the viability of these systems.

The demonstration will tell us more about which type of system makes sense in different rural settings. Each rural area has its own set of specifications that we should be trying to meet. We need a good deal of planning for each of these demonstrations by states and localities. The proposals were due in to the states by February 6, 1975. From there they will move to the regional offices who will then transmit the best of these proposals to an inter-agency review team at the federal level. I am hopeful that this process will allow us to have some funded projects beginning by the summer of 1975.

Two points I want to emphasize about the need for Section 147 and objectives of that program. We need a range of systems. Various types of systems should be funded in order to allow us to evaluate which have provided services in the most efficient manner. I think this will be accomplished in the selection of the various demonstration projects. The second point is that project evaluation is critical. In this demonstration program, we should collect sufficient data and thoroughly evaluate this data so that we can estimate the true benefits accrued by the system and accurately compare them with the system costs. We also should not overlook the valuable experience of Community Action Agencies.

This, however, brings us to a definitional problem. What do we mean by rural transportation? When we started our study at A & T, we decided to use the Bureau of the Census definition of places under 5,000 population that are outside of urbanized areas. This was also the definition used by the Section 147 Guidelines; all areas of the state not in an urbanized area designated by the Bureau of the Census and not in a place having population of 5,000 or more are considered rural areas. The definitional problem is that the new National Mass Transportation Assistance Act of 1974 has not used the same concept of rural areas. This act considerably expanded the definition of rural areas to include any area that is not in an urbanized area. As urbanized areas are defined by the Census, that means anything less than 50,000

population is considered rural. I am very concerned by this because there is a limited amount of funds available in this Act for rural areas. The $500 million available for rural areas in the legislation must be spread over a six year period.

Restrictions on these rural funds are problematical because they may not be used for anything except capital equipment according to the legislation. We have a need for operating subsidies in the rural areas which is not provided for under the Act. The funds for larger urban areas may use portions of their funds for operating subsidy. However, this use is specifically excluded from the rural section. It is precisely in the rural areas that operating subsidies are needed even more than in the urban areas. We need some amendments to that legislation in the area of operating subsidies. Local planners and governing bodies should be allowed to make their own choices about the best use of these public funds.

I would also like to note the problems rural areas have had in meeting the requirements for being eligible for federal grants in public transportation. It is very difficult for rural areas to apply for funds because of the lack of planning data and analysis that is normally conducted in larger urban areas. In fact, based on some earlier research done at A & T, less than 5% of the requests for capital grants coming into the Urban Mass Transportation Administration were from cities of under 50,000. In most cases, the grants were for less than five vehicles and, thus, rather small in value. The number of applications from small cities must be considerably increased if the $500 million in the new Act is to be fully utilized.

Funds for capital grants for smaller urban areas have been available under previous legislation. There has been nothing to exclude areas of under 50,000 from applying for this money and using it to buy capital equipment, but they have not been making much use of it. I think it is, therefore, important that UMTA find ways of encouraging rural people to develop and submit proposals or else it is not very likely that much of the available money will actually be spent.

Some of these concerns I have mentioned have been reflected by a number of legislators. At the congressional hearing on the National Mass Transportation Assistance Act (Senate Bill 386), Representative Anderson of Illinois questioned whether the $500 million was set aside exclusively for the use in rural areas or whether this money was just available at the discretion of the Secretary of Transportation. Did the legislation require that these funds be reserved for small urban areas? There was some assurance given by Representative Minish of New Jersey that the intention was to use the funds exclusively in rural areas, but there is nothing in the bill that verifies this intention. Similar concern that no moneys were assured for rural areas was voiced by Senator Schuster of Pennsylvania and Senator Gross of Iowa. We must be very cautious in developing guidelines for allocation of these funds to ensure that they are available and will, in fact, be used. I would also like to note parenthetically that in the House version of this bill (HR 12859), the $500 million was allocated on a formula basis to states based on the percent of rural population in each of the states. This House version also allowed one-half of the funds to be used for operating assistance similar to the urban provi-

sion in the bill which was eventually made public law. These provisions in the House bill, unfortunately, were not adopted by the Senate. When the bill went to conference, the Conference Committee chose the Senate version with respect to the rural portions. In my opinion, it was a mistake to delete the allocation scheme and the provision for operating subsidies. I'm afraid we will have to wait for new legislation to change this situation.

What is the total number of dollars needed to provide a level of transit service that will allow for an acceptable level of mobility in rural America? The following is just a sketch of the analysis that should be done to estimate the funds needed, but I believe it is a reasonable estimate.

The first requirement is to determine the number of persons who are disadvantaged with respect to transportation and would, therefore, desire public transportation. Twenty-seven percent of the population of the United States or 67.8 million persons live in non-urban areas, and twenty-five percent or 14.5 million persons living in rural areas do not have access to an automobile. If we want to provide two trips per week for each of these persons who are without access to an automobile, then this target population would require 1,508 million trips per year. At a cost of $3.00 per trip which is a reasonable average cost based on data we have gathered at sites around the country, this would result in a total cost of 4.5 billion dollars per year.

Can we afford this enormous bill? Obviously not. We do not have to plan for such a large expenditure for a number of reasons. Each of the twenty-five percent who are autoless are not immobile. Many of them are able to hitchhike or "catch a ride" with their friends. Our research at A & T indicated that not everyone without an automobile has a severe transportation problem. I will not even begin to try to estimate the actual needs of the transportation disadvantaged, but the point is that we cannot really be all things to all people because we cannot afford the bill.

Will we have substantially more rural public transportation in the future? I believe so. We will certainly be funded for a second year in the rural public transportation bill demonstration program Section 147. I am also quite hopeful that the restrictions on the use of funds for strictly capital equipment in the current National Mass Transportation Assistance Act will be changed and that we will be allowed to provide operating subsidies to rural public transportation systems. It is conferences like this one which stimulate better legislation.

Institutions

We need viable institutions at all levels to run the systems. Organizations at federal, state and regional and local levels are necessary, but most of the decision making should be done at the state and regional levels. At the federal level we need people who can deal with the Regional Transit Authorities which I predict will be operating most of the rural public transportation systems in the country. Especially in rural areas where local support and individualized service are critical, we need local planning. I don't believe the state or federal government can do the detailed level of planning that is necessary for successful operation of rural public transportation. The state should be providing the coordination efforts and provide some of the technical

assistance, but the local planning is what really counts in providing personalized services.

The federal jurisdictions for public transportation will very likely be changing in the next couple of years. UMTA's participation in Section 147, the Rural Public Highway Demonstration Program and their involvement in administering the new National Mass Transportation Assistance Act brings them squarely into rural public transportation. There are at least two possible reorganizations that are possible. One would have the Urban Mass Transportation Administration become responsible for all the public transportation and be redesignated as the Public Transit Administration. Another realignment of areas of responsibilities would have the Federal Highway Administration and the Urban Mass Transportation Administration merge and create a Federal Ground Transportation Administration. One of these alternatives is likely in the future.

Regulations

In conclusion, let me mention a concern that has been voiced by many conference participants. It is that we must change the regulations that do not allow flexibility in the use of currently available transportation funds. If I were a planner at the local level, I would be absolutely flabbergasted by the funding jungle which would face me. This has been adequately documented by various other persons at this conference. That situation must change.

I do not think that in five years we will come back to this conference and say that all of our problems are solved, but at least we should be able to verify that more of our elderly and handicapped and poor in rural areas are receiving increased level of public transportation services.

A SCHEMA FOR PLANNING INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENT IN THE RURAL BORDER SOUTH

(By Ted Klimasewski, Jacksonville State University, Jacksonville, Ala.)

Economic development transpires whenever a new or expanding manufacturing establishment provides initial impetus for short-term growth in employment and income, and stimulates long-lasting changes in employment and incomes through an intraregional exchange of products and services within the industrial and consumer sectors of a local economy (Fig. 1). The process of industrial economic develop-

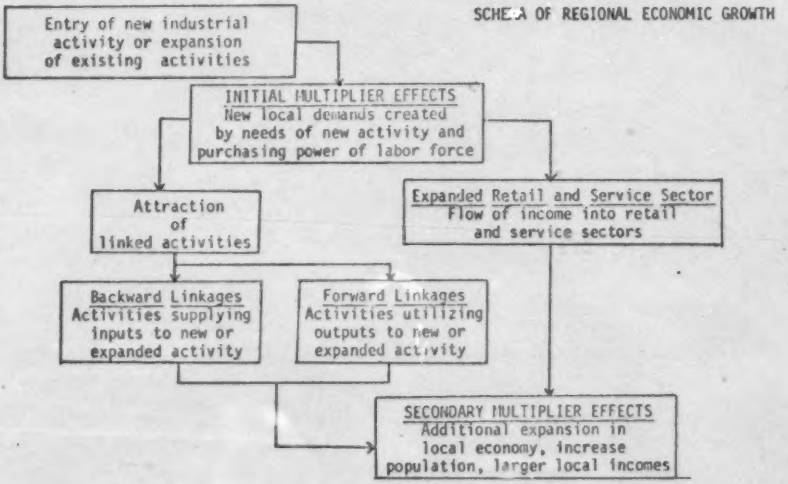
SCHEMA OF REGIONAL ECONOMIC GROWTH
Entry of new industrial activity or expansion of existing activities
INITIAL MULTIPLIER EFFECTS
New local demands created by needs of new activity and purchasing power of labor force
Attraction of linked activities
Expanded Retail and Service Sector
Flow of income into retail and service sectors
Backward Linkages
Activities supplying inputs to new or expanded activity
Forward Linkages
Activities utilizing outputs to new or expanded activity
SECONDARY MULTIPLIER EFFECTS
Additional expansion in local economy, increase population, larger local incomes

Figure 1.—A schema of regional economic growth based upon intra-regional industrial linkages which results from the location of new manufacturing plants or the expansion of existing activities, and the increased purchasing power of the labor force (Lloyd and Dicken, 1972).

ment begins with a new manufacturing establishment which supposedly generates initial multiplier effects (Lloyd and Dicken, 1972; Pred, 1966). Initial multiplier effects consist of larger demands for locally produced inputs and outputs by the new manufacturing enterprise and demands for goods and services by people working in the new factory. This "initial kick" from a new factory results in new businesses, early boom in construction activities, and growth in services, trade, and transportation facilities. The new plant also attracts other types of manufacturing industries which supply inputs for the new manufacturing operation (backward linkages) and industries

which utilize products from the new factory (forward linkages). Accumulation of these changes in the local economy fosters increased population, greater employment, higher incomes, and a larger complex of economic activities than previously experienced in the local economy. The end product is a viable economy feeding upon itself, but with appropriate linkages to other economies for sustenance.

Even though the economic growth model typifies the thinking of many public officials, the model misrepresents the impact of manufacturing systems in rural parts of the Border South (Fig. 2). Rather

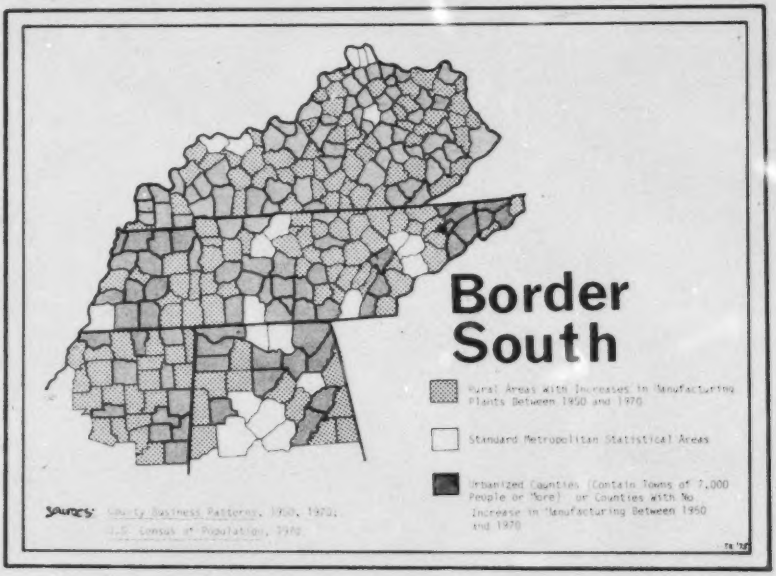
Border
South
Rural Areas with Increases in Manufacturing Plants Between 1950 and 1970
Standard Metropolitan Statistical Areas
Urbanized Counties (Contain Towns of 7,000 People or More) or Counties with No Increase in Manufacturing Between 1950 and 1970
Source:

FIGURE 2.—Delineation of rural sections of the Border South.

than work through a chain reaction of multiplier effects, manufacturing establishments in the rural Border South exhibit few lasting changes on the economic character of a rural economy other than direct impacts of increasing employment and wages for certain people. Another model must be devised to better understand the operation of manufacturing systems in rural areas of the Border South. The revised model must include geographic linkages that manufacturing establishments have to places outside the rural area (Fig. 3). Manufacturing establishments in the rural Border South have strong linkages to factories located beyond the rural area rather than to local facilities, which works against building long-lasting benefits in employment and incomes.

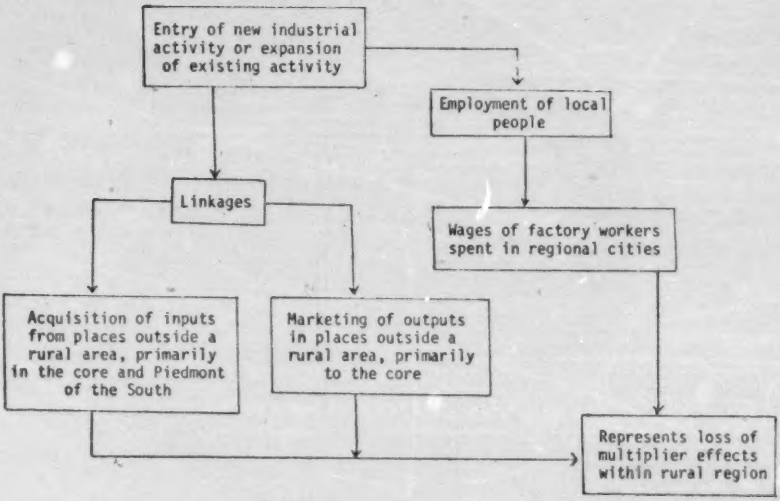
Entry of new industrial activity or expansion of existing activity
Employment of local people
Linkages
Wages of factory workers spent in regional cities
Acquisition of inputs from places outside a rural area, primarily in the core and Piedmont of the South
Marketing of outputs in places outside a rural area, primarily to the core
Represents loss of multiplier effects within rural region

Figure 3.—Schema of industrial economic development for rural areas of the Border South.

To further reduce local impact, few linkages exist between the manufacturing and retail sectors of the local economy. The impact is modified by office equipment and supplies being purchased outside the local community, and factory worker spending a large share of their wages in nearby cities rather than in the local towns.

Supportive research for revised model

Recent research suggests adjustments in the industrial economic growth model are necessary for evaluating the impact of manufacturing in rural sections of the Border South. Lee, Moore, and Lewis (1973) conducted an intersectoral flow analysis to illustrate the interrelationships for the economy of Tennessee and its three geographic regions. They conclude that weak interrelationships characterize the economy of Tennessee, that exports from industries to the rest of the nation are significantly large, that the state's manufacturing sector is extremely open to interregional trading, and that nonmanufacturing sector provides important inputs for manufacturing operations in the state. If the authors reported intersectoral flows for rural areas, they might have revealed significant exportation of manufactured goods to places outside Tennessee, and few manufacturing operations in the rural area acquiring local inputs.

A case study conducted in a rural area in east Tennessee supports the above contention. The study concludes that forward and backward linkages of manufacturing establishments in the rural study area extend beyond the boundaries of the local area, and in many cases,

beyond the boundaries of the Border South into the industrial-commercial core of the nation.

Analysis of forward linkages for 49 establishments in the rural study area reveals that 44 establishments market three-fourths or more of their products in places outside Tennessee, whereas only three plants market a half or more of their products within the rural area. Once outside the state, strongest geographic linkages for retail goods reach into the Midwest and Northeast. Certain retail items, such as mobile homes and furniture, find a ready market in the South. Manufacturers of products to be used as inputs in other factories have predominant linkages to the Midwest and parts of the South. Of the 49 establishments, 25 manufacturing plants ship more than half their products to the industrial-commercial core of the nation.

For backward linkages, 34 manufacturing enterprises acquire three-fourths or more of their production materials outside the rural area in East Tennessee, and 32 establishments secure three-fourths or more of their production inputs outside the state. Eight small operations secure a significant portion (50%) of their inputs from the local area, mostly timber and farm commodities. Production materials are purchased in nearby regional centers, largely small inputs which are easily obtainable in most cities. A large share of the production materials are acquired in the core and Piedmont area of the South. Twenty nine establishments obtain a half or more of their inputs from the core and Piedmont.

The second major component of the economic growth model for manufacturing in rural areas is the spending pattern of factory workers in rural communities. The spending pattern of factory employees in rural areas conforms to central place theory, i.e., people living in rural places and small towns tend to purchase low order goods locally and high order goods in regional cities (Berry, 1967; Barber, 1971). In the study conducted by this author, more than half the workers interviewed travel to regional centers to buy higher order goods (i.e. clothes, furniture). Between six and 80 percent of a community's manufacturing employees purchase food in regional centers. The specific share spent in regional centers varies depending upon accessibility to cities where more and better quality food is available at cheaper prices than in the local rural place of employment. Even if the total wages of factory workers were spent in the local retail economy, they would represent less than a fourth of the total retail sales in the local area.

Summary explanation

The spatial character of industrial linkages is partly explained by the organizational structure of the manufacturing establishments, and the lack of markets and production materials found within the rural area. Two-thirds of the 49 manufacturing plants have their parent companies and sources of capital located outside the study region. External managerial ties encourage the purchases of production materials and marketing of goods in other regions of the United States rather than in this rural area, or even in nearby regional centers. To compound the problem, 39 establishments are relatively small

operations (less than 249 workers) which more often produce retail and apparel goods than intermediate products to be used in factories. Theoretically, producers of intermediate products bring about intra-regional industrial linkages and sustain substantial local or regional multiplier effects. Another problem is ephemerality of enterprises located in the rural study area. More than half the manufacturing establishments have been in this area for less than 10 years, which is hardly long enough to generate lasting linkages with existing local plants, or to attract any complementary industries. Additionally, the survival rate of factories is low. Of the 109 establishments entering the study area between 1949 and 1974, 54 manufacturing plants were in existence in 1974, whereas 55 plants had closed down. Fixed capital costs are low enough to facilitate movement from a rural area. Many buildings are rented from local governments, development commissions, or individuals, thus reducing the amount of fixed capital investment for the manufacturing firms. Rented or low cost machinery also makes it easy to move a plant.

The economic character of the rural study area provides little initiative for developing a viable industrial environment. Small number of consumers in the rural area and their low incomes represent a small retail market to warrant large scale marketing of locally produced manufactured goods. This rural area as well as many other rural regions contain few manufacturing establishments to be potential industrial markets.

TABLE I.—*Geographical extent of forward linkages for 49 manufacturing establishments.*

Percent of products marketed outside Tennessee:	*Establishments*
100 to 75	44
74 to 50	2
40 to 25	1
24 to 5	1
4 to 0	1
Percent of products marketed in study region:	
100 to 75	1
74 to 50	2
40 to 25	0
24 to 5	2
4 to 0	44

TABLE II.—*Geographical extent of backward linkages for 49 manufacturing establishments.*

Percent of production materials purchased outside Tennessee:	*Establishments*
100 to 75	32
74 to 50	6
49 to 25	3
24 to 5	1
4 to 0	7
Percent of production material purchased in study region:	
100 to 75	7
74 to 50	1
49 to 25	3
24 to 5	4
4 to 0	34

Source of data: Interviews conducted in study region, 1973.

The moderate impact of workers' wages upon the local rural economy results from the relatively large share of workers' incomes spent for food and leakage of wages into regional centers. The leakage results from workers' perception of price differences between stores in rural places and stores in regional centers, large numbers of employees commuting to their place of employment and spending their wages in their home-town, ready access to regional centers for workers to spend their wages, and the small number and relatively poor choice of goods offered by stores in the local communities.

Implications

Rural areas within the Border South are open systems rather than closed economic entities. Planners and public officials must confront the openness before planning economic development in a rural area of the Border South, and possibly other rural parts of the South.

Geographic forward and backward linkage into the industrial-commercial core of the nation makes the industrial economies of the rural Border South more sensitive to national trends than to regional or local trends. The openness is partly illustrated by the "energy crisis" which has affected sales of recreational vehicle plants in rural areas. Recent closing of apparel and textile mills in rural areas resulting from downturn in the national economy further illustrates the sensitive connectivity between rural and national economies. Changes in the national consumer tastes and incomes have a ripple-effect on a rural economy; a negative change in the national economy can be external shock which forces the shut-down of low-profit-margin enterprises.

The large number of nondurable goods industries (e.g., apparel), which are less subject to elasticity of demand than durable goods industries, modifies negative change in the national economy. Contracts between factories in a rural area and national retail firms also modify negative economic impacts. As long as rural establishments remain competitive, factories in rural areas are likely to retain their contracts even though negative economic changes occur. Policies of rural development through industrialization must account for changes in the national economy, and planning proposals in a rural area must be projected onto a national scale as argued by Friedman (1966). One means to facilitate the continued operation of some rural factories is to encourage contracts with national retail firms, while maintaining a competitive production function.

Organization structure and geographic openness

Changes in managerial policies of manufacturing operations can reduce the openness and create intraregional industrial linkages. A number of branch plants have close ties with their parent companies in the industrial-commercial core where corporate managers decide where finished products are marketed and production materials are acquired. In order to realign industrial linkages to remain in a rural region, or at least in the South, corporate managers must be convinced that purchasing and marketing in regional centers of the South would be a profitable venture. Such a program would not occur unless production materials and products have competitive prices and quality, and the entrepreneurs have information concerning sources

of inputs and potential markets. Many entrepreneurs interviewed by this author acknowledge the noncompetitive position of manufacturers in the South. They prefer to market goods and purchase production materials in the core or Piedmont. This perception may be attributed to a lack of information. Plant officials indicated that marketing and purchasing information is acquired in face-to-face contact, advertisements in business journals, and marketing and purchasing directives from home offices located in the core. Possibly, a state-operated information service could be organized as a realistic data bank of potential markets and supplies rather than an organization of advocates who unrealistically epouse advantages of a state (Roepke, 1973).

Another organizational characteristic of manufacturing establishments in rural areas of the Border South is their ephermerality. The coming and going in plants is an economic way of life in some rural areas, and government proposals should be adjusted accordingly. Counties that construct and lease buildings to manufacturing firms have to contend with the ease of industrial migration. The renting of county-owned structures reduces the fixed capital cost of manufacturing plants, especially for assembly type branch plants, and increases the potential of moving from a rural area whenever manufacturing operations become unprofitable ventures. Public officials should prepare for the transient nature of manufacturing in rural areas. Building design should accommodate the transitoriness in such a maner that various production processes can readily adapt to the building at hand. For instance, after a textile mill ceases, an electronics firm can readily adapt to the structure with minimal alteration to the building.

Character of rural regions

Rural regions of the Border South contain common characteristics which have significant impact upon regional development. The characteristics include small consumer market, few economies of urbanization, i.e., services and other urban facilities, and few economies of localization for complementary industries.

Most rural regions have few significant location advantages beyond the labor supply, and entrepreneurs enter a rural area expecting to lower production costs by hiring workers at a relatively cheap rate (Lonsdale, 1969; Haren, 1970; Greenhut, 1960). Low thresholds in the labor supply, however, restrict the entry of a new plant in a rural area, unless higher wages are paid or the commuting field is extended (Lonsdale, 1969; Lineback, 1970). In certain rural areas, competition for labor could be at maximum, with a few new plants being able to compete successfully.

To compensate for the few location advantages, arguments have been presented to build up a rural area's infrastructure. The assumption of this proposal is that investments in the infrastructure make the region competitive in attracting industry. Such programs may be acceptable in the "worst first" strategy in rural areas where short-term attempts are enacted to bring labor-intensive enterprises into distressed rural places to employ local people. Long-term governmental policies directed to improve the infrastructure for manufacturing, e.g., sewers, roads and industrial parks, do not offset a basic problem of industrial economic growth in rural regions, i.e., the multiplier effects

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of industrial linkages extending beyond the local region. In fact, costs of improving a rural region's infrastructure may far exceed benefits derived from the location of a factory in a rural area.

Spending pattern of factory workers

In order to have factory workers spend their money locally and to stimulate retail trading within a rural economy, policies must interrupt the central place mechanism whereby people travel to larger cities to buy certain goods, or increase real incomes of factory workers. The latter proposal is difficult to achieve unless present employers pay a higher wage. This is not likely to occur in a rural area which is characterized by low-wage industry. A policy of rural industrialization might consider rural locations for a few high-wage, capital intensive industries which employ a small number of workers without the threat of job loss that often happens in labor intensive industries (Shimshoni, 1971). High-wage workers, however, do not necessarily increase local spending because of employees' proclivity to drive to large cities for goods and services.

Proposals to interrupt the central place mechanism are subject to many obstacles: (1) a small number and poor quality of retail establishments in rural places; (2) small trade area to support certain types of retail activities, such as large department stores; (3) competition from retail stores in regional centers; (4) attempts by local business to keep chain stores from locating in rural communities. Possibly, local spending by factory workers may evolve only when cost of traveling to regional centers becomes too great, which may happen with a rapid increase in gasoline prices. Another alternative is for merchants to provide the incentive for factory workers to spend locally by lowering prices on retail commodities. If neither event occurs, limited benefits from local spending becomes an expected factor in planning regional development.

Conclusions

Geographic openness of manufacturing systems in the rural Border South obstructs a basic ingredient of long-lasting regional development, that is, the circumstance of intraregional industrial linkages and local spending by factory workers. The openness aborts opportunity for an industrial complex, and its associative high employment and incomes within the manufacturing and retail sectors of a local rural economy. Planners for rural development must confront the openness, and realize that expenditures of funds to overcome the openness, such as building an infrastructure, have limited benefits for establishing a viable economic entity. Rather than expend funds to build an attractive region for manufacturing establishments, planners should concentrate on programs that help people in rural areas become competitive with other workers throughout the nation.

Training programs enhance the competitive position of rural people for employment in occupations other than low-wage industries. Once training is achieved, alternatives for these people are to remain in the rural area for employment in high-wage paying industries, commute to nearby regional cities for employment, or migrate to intermediate-sized cities as argued by Hansen (1973). Plans for rural development, therefore, emphasize human resources rather than ineffectual place-oriented programs.

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RURAL IMPACT OF RECREATION DEVELOPMENT

INTRODUCTION AND SUMMARY

(By Dr. Leland L. Nicholls, Appalachian State University, Boone, N.C.)

Recreation development is a job not of building roads into lovely country, but of building receptivity into the still unlovely human mind . . . . Barring love and war, few enterprises are undertaken with such abandon, or by such diverse individuals, or with so paradoxical a mixture of appetite and altruism, as that group of avocations known as outdoor recreation.

—Aldo Leopold, *A Sand Country Almanac.*

The observations held by Leopold in the late 1940's were once again emphasized by participants in this session devoted to an investigation of the rural impact of recreation development. It was during this session that a variety of planners, geographers, ecologists, and developers pursued the study of regional problems and prospects in the field of recreation development. Attention was focused upon the recreationist and the amenities that he seeks in the rural South of North Carolina, West Virginia, and Tennessee, though implications of the papers delivered are national in scope.

Two of the four papers delivered at this session are published herewith. In addition to these presentations, Mr. Jack Frauson graphically emphasized the problems of rural communities and counties in delivering the proper supply of recreational facilities to meet the urban demands, and Mr. Robert J. Hogan presented a variety of computer aided methods of environmental impact analysis used by the Snowshoe Development Company at a West Virginia ski resort site.

THE MAKING OF RECREATIONAL PLACES IN EAST TENNESSEE

(By Theodore H. Schmudde, University of Tennessee, Knoxville, Tenn.)

Introduction

Accelerating recreational development, starting as much as 40 years ago but most visible over the last 20 years, is changing the geography of East Tennessee. Recreational uses of land and the capital inputs and incomes related thereto have experienced exponential growth over this period and now must be counted as an important component of the geography of the area. It is the purpose of this paper to review the evolution of three different areas of recreational development in East Tennessee and to evaluate some of the important contrasts in geographical impact to those areas.

Recreational development in the decades of the 30's and 40's was very much related to the physical resources of natural scenery or large water bodies, particularly around Great Smoky Mountain National Park and the lakes of TVA. It was also a period of home-grown developments; they more or less happened and economic viability was not a principal goal. Local people were the entrepreneurs in those few commercial activities that were started, and recreational housing development was primarily a function of the assorted actions of individuals for their own satisfaction. The extent and character of recreational activity in East Tennessee in this early period has little evidence of organized business involvement in the uses of resources for recreational purposes.

The last decade, particularly, contrasts sharply with the earlier resource orientation and local flavor of recreational development. The role of physical resource base is now more indirect. Images of natural attractiveness can still be significant in choice of locations, but the direct influence of environmental resources on recreational development has declined while the importance of facilities and services created by the businesses of development has increased. Emphasis is much more on the creation of facilities and services than on naturalness and primitive setting. Those contemporary recreational developments that enjoy the greatest use are very much urban in character. Moreover, their growth is very much a function of capital invested in facilities and services and the organizational means to sell what they develop. Recreational places no longer happen; they are planned and promoted as business ventures.

The contrasts in development between recreational developments around TVA lakes, the Gatlinburg area adjacent to Great Smoky Mountains National Park, and those on the Cumberland Plateau around Crossville, illustrate very different processes and results of

recreational development. The ensuing review of each case area attempts to highlight the most salient characteristics in the evolution of each.

TVA lakes area

Strips and clusters of recreational housing have developed around the lakes built by TVA in East Tennessee. Completion of Norris Lake in 1936 and several other large lakes over the next two decades created new resources of recreational value. Shoreline location and vistas of the lakes and surrounding wooded hills have become the sites of most development. Dispersed housing and facilities have dominated the form of development, and use is primarily related to fishing, boating, swimming, and quiet relaxation. Though there is clustering of housing in some places, no commercial centers based on recreational activity are in the making within the TVA lakes area.

Impetus for development rested largely on the diverse initiatives of individual users to satisfy their particular amenity desires. Most users were from nearby places, especially the larger cities and towns. A recent study of development around Norris Lake reveals that most of the recreational housing and facilities have been individually initiated; there has been very little speculative building. The study also found the pace of development slow, though steady, and there is little evidence of planning or direction inherent in the location or layout of housing and facilities (Schmudde, 1972).

Gatlinburg area

The Gatlinburg area represents a different developmental history. Its recreational functions began in the 1930's at a gateway location to the newly-created Great Smoky Mountain National Park. It's location along the main access route to the Park and physical setting have confined and localized subsequent development. Though some of the early building was by individual users, an important part of even the early development catered to the commercial opportunities of the tourists visiting the Park. Business entrepreneurs were primarily of local origin and their dominance has held firm until recently. The first recreational clientele also came mostly from nearby areas.

For the past 15 years, especially, growth of tourist volume and the businesses and revenues related with it have grown exponentially. The growth of the residential population, however, has been modest.

	Growth in the Gatlinburg area			
	1960	1968	1970	1973
Population [1]	2,700	.....	3,700	.....
Gross revenues [2]	$9,000,000	$26,500,000	.....	$55,800,000

[1] U.S. census.
[2] Calculated from Tennessee gross receipts tax.

As a result of these divergent trends gross revenues are now more comparable to cities in Tennessee with populations of 3 or 4 times the size of those in the Gatlinburg area.

The present volume of tourists is drawn from the entire eastern United States, but the greatest proportion of the total come from the

states along an axis from Michigan to Florida. For many visitors to East Tennessee, Gatlinburg with its commercial attractions and services is probably as much the goal of their visit as the Park. The evidence for this supposition is that gross receipts have risen much faster than Park visitor volume. It seems unlikely that such increases are due to visitors spending four times as much per capita as formerly, but indicates that many people now visit only Gatlinburg and hence are not reflected in its Park visitor count. The image of Gatlinburg as a place with fine accommodations, wide variety of specialty shops, and an array of amusement facilities for the whole family is well established. To many, therefore, it is a destination for a vacation.

Its established image and high volume of visitors make Gatlinburg attractive for new business opportunities and further commercial expansion. Major recent expansion has taken three forms. One is territorial; land all along the northern flank of the Park has been converted mostly to such recreational uses as second home developments, commercial camp grounds, and small land parcels for cottage sites.

Another is the entry into Gatlinburg of corporations with large capital backing, especially national motel and hotel chains. These types of large enterprises dominate current construction of new facilities. Their large promotional efforts, national infrastructure, and established image are used to attract customers to their facilities and services. This type of regional and national outreach gives them a competitive advantage over independent, locally-owned businesses (Dobson, 1975). Their presence and promotion is a new force in the evolution of Gatlinburg, tending to make it more and more urban and man-made in character.

A third is amusement type facilities. Such things as the space needle, a cable tramway, an amusement development, and the upgrading of skiing facilities have come on to the scene. These are mostly the result of investments by private entrepreneurs who expect to turn a profit, but these facilities also serve to attract additional tourists.

Cumberland County

On the Cumberland Plateau, in the area around Crossville, is a third area of recreational development. Here development is new, mostly of the last five years, and is primarily the product of large outside enterprises. Large tracts of land, ranging from 2,000 to 20,000 acres, have been converted into concentrations of recreational and second home sites. Local people have been only marginally involved in these developments nor is the local area of any importance as a source of clientele. These developments have attracted more than a quarter million people in the last five years. In 1973 alone, more than 4,000 lots were sold. The flow of people to the area and the demand for lots has been created; it had no antecedents in the area.

These developments depend on extensive regional promotional schemes to attract potential clients (Stroud, 1974). Promotion costs for one of the major second home developments here was more than twice the total costs of land, infrastructure, public use facilities, and labor combined. Facilities and services, real or promised, are an important part of the image being promoted. The primary goal of all this is to sell lots at profitable prices to the potential markets of major urban areas. The combination of organizational know-how and ample

financial resources to create and sustain the system of promotion and development are much more crucial to the success of recreational development in Cumberland County than is the inherent appeal of the environmental resoures. Entry costs run to several million dollars and as many as three to five years may elapse before positive cash flows are realized.

The rapid growth of recreational development in Cumberland County is clearly a function of a few large businesses of development. Because the system of development is so costly, the size of development is by necessity large. Thus, for Cumberland County, which is still mostly a rural county, the potential effects on the local geography can be large. Even now the seasonal influx of people is substantial; as many as 17,000 families visited one development alone in 1973. Moreover, the potential stock of lots for sale in the existing developments in Cumberland County is more than 30,000, whereas the present resident population of the county is less than 21,000.

Implications

The recent rapid growth and character of recreational development in two of the areas raises questions about the local benefits and the long-term economic prospects of such growth. It is evident, for example, that the impetus for development that is potent economically depends on large businesses of recreation whose goals are primarily their own financial success. Local people are often not major beneficiaries of the expanded economy, but increased public costs and changes in land uses can have significant effects on their locality. Moreover, most of the businesses of development, by necessity, strive for financial success in the short-term but there is as yet scant evidence to expect them to represent long-term viability. They may be creating a local "boom and bust" economic cycle.

Under the stress of rapid growth promoted by the businesses of recreation as exemplified by recent developments in Cumberland County or the national hotel chains in the Gatlinburg area, what are the long term costs to the local area and their people compared to the benefits? Recreational businesses are generally quite ephemeral and places noted for recreational activity have experienced faddish ebbs and flows. Is this a solid basis for betterment and development of rural areas?

Another important aspect of major recreational places is that by necessity they depend on urban populations as their market of users. Places dominated by large recreational developments become little more than extensions of the urban system and have few functional articulations with the surrounding rural settlements. Is such a situation one of lasting benefit to rural localities, even if recreational developments last for some time? Moreover, are the urban extensions and forms of such large size, based on high volumes of seasonal use and involving large costs for maintenance and travel going to be stable and viable in such detached rural locations, especially in the face of expensive energy and declining mobility of people?

The direction of development, as exemplified by these cases, also raises serious questions about the congruence of goals between mass recreation as produced by recreational businesses and the psychic

amenity needs of individuals. Can the massive and standardized recreational commodity, the usual product of large business enterprises, retain an amenity significance for the diversity of individual users? If amenity values of individuals are not served then the business purpose serves a fad and will not long survive.

Conclusions

The implications just raised can be applied to the three places reviewed here as an assessment of their future. Recreational developments around TVA lakes seem reasonably assured of a future much like that of their past; they will continue to serve the very individual needs of persons who provide the initiatives of their existence. The lack of commercial motivation in past development indicates that the future does not necessarily depend on successful economic initiatives of businesses. Moreover, the present scope of development is quite small and is probably of a size supportable by the inherent demands of local populations.

The character of the future in Gatlinburg appears less certain than for the TVA lakes area but its continued existence also seems reasonably assured. The uncertainty stems in part from the decisionmaking whims of nationally-based businesses of recreation as they assess the financial success of their branch facilities in Gatlinburg. Withdrawal of any of these large enterprises from the Gatlinburg scene may induce economic repercussions and loss of image. Further uncertainty lies in the degree to which congestion and possible dereliction of older facilities may tarnish Gatlinburg's image and repel the future user. Here again any further expansion of nationally known hotels and motels may only heighten the dilemma for the future.

Nevertheless, continued existence of Gatlinburg as a recreational place seems assured because of its location adjacent to Great Smoky Mountain National Park. The Park is a protected natural amenity attraction of national importance and undoubtedly will continue to draw large numbers of visitors. Thus despite any future image problems that may accompany the development of Gatlinburg, Park visitors will continue to depend on its facilities. In other words, Gatlinburg will continue to be a beneficiary of the market of people attracted to the perceived amenities of the Park even if its own attractiveness is marred by standardized facilities and congestion.

The development in Cumberland County may well represent the least stable of the three recreational places. All indications are that when corporate promotional efforts cease so do visitations to their developments.

Sales promotions are hardly a basis for solid development and the infrastructure and facilities that are built are unlikely to become major attractions in their own right. Decline may come as rapidly as the recent rate of development. The Cumberland area has no base of natural amenity attraction like that of the National Park for Gatlinburg and no substantial local clientele to support existing or further development as is the case with TVA lakes area. Moreover, the changing economic and energy realities introduce additional uncertainties about the viability of this extended urban life-style and

its wasteful part-time use of facilities. Finally, should these developments succeed they would then lose whatever amenity attraction that now exists because their planned form will make them even more congested than most city suburbs.

Two general conclusions might be drawn from these three case areas with respect to the potential role of recreational activity in rural development. First, major recreational developments today are usually the product of business decisions. They succeed or fail largely to the extent that adequate financial resources are invested in infrastructure and promotion to make them appealing to the recreational fads and fashions of a large regional or national market. The extent to which recreational facilities and services depend on the financial support and management acumen of large business enterprises and the fads they serve is probably a reasonable measure of the ephemeral character of recreational places. It is also indicative of the uncertain prospects recreational activity has as a viable form of rural development. Second, because major recreational developments impose substantial land use and ownership changes and can create large volumes of visitation by extensive promotion, they may have a large impact on local rural areas and create a legacy that is not compatible with the long-term uses of these areas.

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SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC CONSIDERATIONS IN APPALACHIAN RECREATIONAL DEVELOPMENT: A WEST VIRGINIA CASE STUDY

(By Dr. Kenard E. Smith, Virginia Polytechnic Institute and State University, Blacksburg, Va., and Dr. Arnold R. Alanen, University of Wisconsin, Madison, Wis.)

Recreational development often is touted as a vehicle for the alleviation of various socioeconomic problems in Appalachia. Although such development has not occurred at the pace some proponents might desire, recent years have seen the emergence of several very substantial recreation projects and proposals in many areas of the region. These developments, quite obviously, will contribute to changes of both a positive and negative nature in Appalachia. Evaluating the actual impact of such large-scale development projects is a most difficult task, however, whether considering physical phenomena or the even more nebulous properties of the socioeconomic realm.

This paper focuses upon some of the social and economic issues that are of concern within this unique and culturally rich region of the United States. The study area, an isolated rural county in West Virginia, straddles the Virginia-West Virginia border. (Figure 1.) Within the area construction has begun already on "Snowshoe," a multimillion dollar ski resort and recreation facility. The developers expect the complex eventually to become one of the largest resort facilities in the eastern United States.

In addition to a description of the facility and its setting, the following discussion seeks to assess: 1) the impact such a project might have upon the area's service network, and 2) the attitudes of local residents relative to such a large-scale development project.

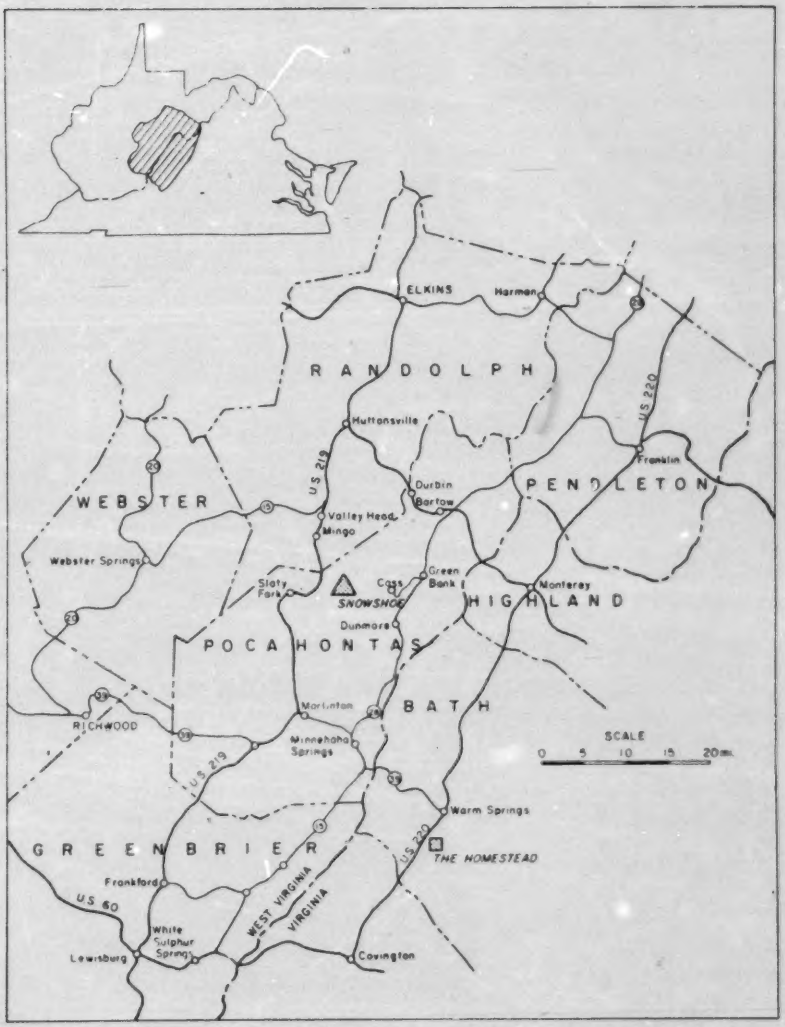

FIGURE 1.—Appalachian regional setting.

Regional setting

Pochontas County, West Virginia, the focal point for this study, is bisected by the Alleghany Plateau to the west and Appalachian Ridge and Valley region to the east. Because only twenty percent of the total

county area contains land with less than an eight percent slope, development efforts always have been arduous. The country's population pattern reflects the limitations of the mountainous terrain and the paucity of level land for agricultural activities. (Figure 2.) The most

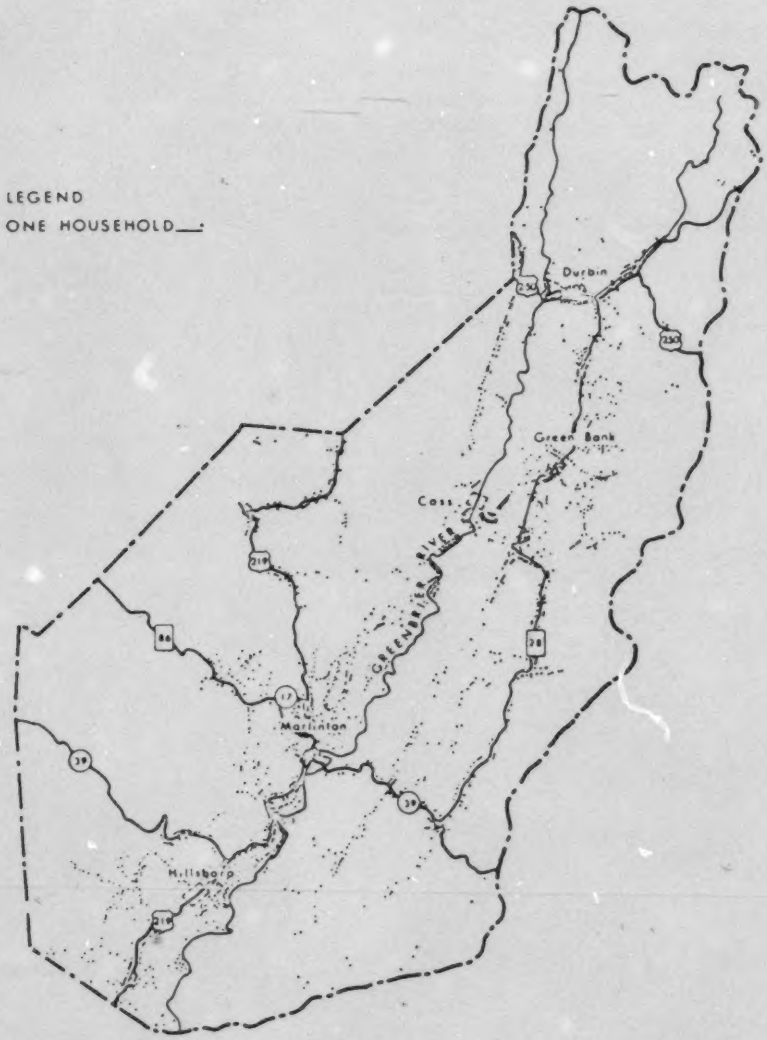

FIGURE 2.—Population distribution: Pocahontas County, W. Va.

outstanding economic activity of the region has been related to logging and lumbering; but this single industry orientation reached a zenith already during the early 1900's, leaving ghost towns and economic stagnation in its wake.

Population figures for the county also reflect the demise of logging activity. Since 1920, the county has exhibited continuous population decline, with a loss of 1,300 residents taking place between 1960 and 1970 alone. In fact, the total 1970 population is weighted heavily toward the dependent age groups. The groups comprised of persons over 55 years of age are especially noteworthy in that they not only constitute a significant proportion of the total county population, but also are growing in absolute numbers. (Figure 3.) This would indicate

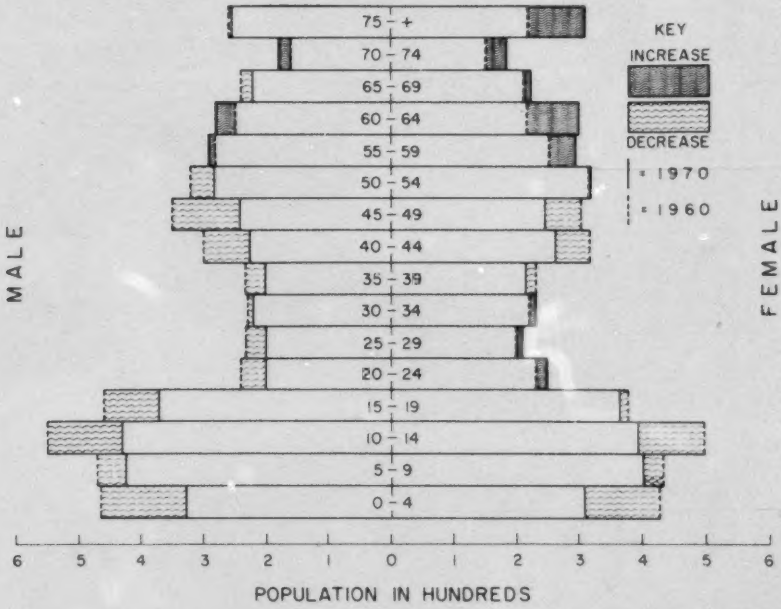

FIGURE 3.—Age-Sex Distribution: Pocahontas County, W. Va. 1960–70).

that the older residents are staying in the county after retirement, and that the county is becoming a focal point for retirees arriving from other areas. All findings indicate that the majority of these migrants are former residents returning to the county after completing their working years elsewhere. The significance of place and kinship bonds, so long noted among Appalachian residents, would appear to be borne out by these observations.

The county also is located within a broad region designated as a potential "termination recreation complex" by the Appalachian Regional Commission.[1] While the general region has long been famous for its national forests, hunting, fishing and two nationally rec-

[1] "Recreation Areas Designated in Appalachian Highlands," Appalachia, 2 (October 1968), pp. 11–16.

ognized hotels (The Homestead at Hot Springs, Va., and The Greenbrier located at White Sulphur Springs, W. Va.), efforts to promote tourism within the specific area have been rewarded with no more than minimal seasonal income. The narrow-gauge Cass Scenic Railroad, for example, is the sole facility possessing any significant tourist "image"; and the only other major development, albeit non-tourist oriented, is the National Radio Astronomy Observatory (N.R.A.O.) established in 1957. The character of the county is mirrored once again when it is realized that N.R.A.O. officials chose to locate in Pocahontas County because of its isolation from major cities, airways and radio interference.[2]

With this isolated regional setting in mind, the remainder of the paper will focus upon particular locational and situational qualities of the ski resort and the range of local attitudes toward recreational development in Pocahontas County.

Locational considerations

Locational considerations, whether dealing with site or situation, are of critical importance to any resort facility, especially ski centers of the projected Snowshoe size. The Snowshoe site is outstanding in at least three respects. First, the site is located in a precipitation zone that averages at least 100 inches of annual snowfall (Fig. 4); in fact,

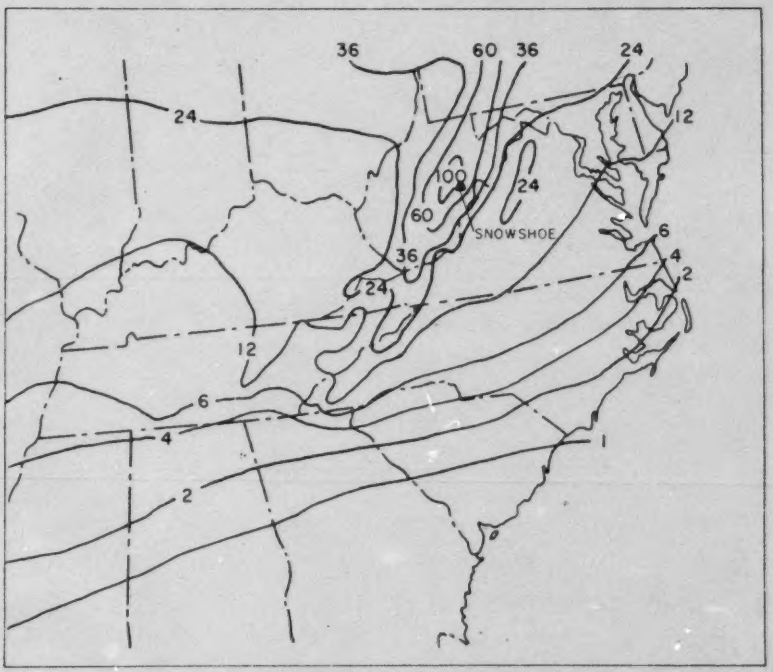

FIGURE 4.—Mean annual snowfall (inches) for the Southeastern United States.

[2] The Character of Deer Creek Valley as a site for the N.R.A.O. facility is described by Richard M. Emberton, "National Radio Astronomy Observatory," Science, CXXX (Nov. 13, 1956), pp. 1307–1318.

the north-facing bowl is reported to average 180 inches.[3] Second the visual and historic amenities of the former logging company property add to its uniqueness. Finally, the ski slopes boast a vertical rise of 1500 feet, a feature which is quite atypical of southern skiing, but analogous to the best resorts in the eastern United States.[4]

The situational or regional context of a ski area relative to nearby markets and competitors is also well documented in the recreational literature. Distance to major metropolitan areas is a most important consideration; but availability of all-weather roads, hospitals and services and complementary recreational activities also enhance the recreational experience. It is the authors' contention that situational considerations are of primary importance in assessing the Snowshoe project.

Other national ski resorts proximate to the Snowshoe site would enhance its appeal as one attraction within a larger winter sports area complex. Whereas other ski areas have been proposed for the region, the only competitor within 75 miles of the Snowshoe project is located at The Homestead. In addition, Snowshoe and The Homestead are separated by a series of steep ridges and valleys which expands their temporal division even more so. Nicholls' survey revealed that The Homestead primarily serves a regional skier market, with seventy percent of the participants coming from Roanoke, Charlottesville, Staunton, and Lynchburg, Va.[5]

To act as a destination, national or vacation ski resort, Snowshoe's promoters will have to promote its uniqueness, completeness, and variety very carefully if adequate mid-week skier volumes are to be sustained. The lack of ski area competitors in the region cannot be considered an asset in terms of Snowshoe's development, and the paucity of other significant tourist-related facilities may make the resort less attractive to an increasingly sophisticated public that often demands a multi-faceted recreational package.[6] The Cass Scenic Railroad and to a lesser extent, the National Radio Astronomy Observatory, are the only attractions that currently provide visibility for such an isolated region.

The cultural, social and economic environment: An assessment

Whereas most environmental impact studies emphasize the physical environment within their framework of reference, an assessment of cultural, social and economic impacts is no less essential. Certainly one of the most important ingredients of any such assessment involves the "mood" or receptivity of local residents relative to large scale development projects. Given its declining population, sizeable amount of Federal land and isolation from metropolitan areas, it definitely can be said that one of Pocahontas County's primary characteristics is its rural-oriented environment. As mentioned before, the isolation from

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[3] Snowshoe Ski Area promotional literature, 1974.

[4] For an entertaining interpretation of the problems that occur when adapting a northern sport to a southern social and physical context see Robert Coram, "Schussing Through Dixie: :&?¢%#!," New York Times, Feb. 16, 1975, pp. 1XX & 16XX.

[5] Leland L. Nicholls, "A Geographical Analysis of Selected Ski Resorts in the South" (Unpublished Ph. D. Dissertation, Knoxville: The University of Tennessee, 1972), pp. 76–77.

[6] Smith, for example, has demonstrated that in Colorado proximity to competitive ski areas enhances the attractiveness of individual facilities. See, Kenard E. Smith, "Location Analysis of High-Volume Skiing in Western United States" (Unpublished Ph.D dissertation, Minneapolis: University of Minnesota, 1974), p. 179.

major cities, airways and radio interference prompted the establishment of the National Radio Astronomy Observatory at Green Bank. Hence, one might expect a certain amount of opposition to increased tourist activity from Green Bank Community residents.

On the other hand, the economic component of the project invariably is mentioned as being of very great importance to the local area. While the number of employment opportunities that will be fostered by the project and related activities is the foremost consideration among residents, other facets of the economic spectrum also will be influenced by the recreation project.

Certainly one of the most noticeable changes will be in the number and variety of service facilities found within the region. At present, practically all of the services and functions provided by the county's towns, villages and hamlets are oriented directly toward the needs of local residents. The only significant exceptions are a few seasonal services related to the Cass Scenic Railroad, some scattered tourist oriented facilities for the general public, and a few provisions for itinerant construction workers employed in projects of various duration throughout the region.

There can be no doubt that an increase in the number of recreation-oriented visitors and residents will change the entire complexion of the region. In an effort to focus upon the most basic activities which likely will experience a transition because of large-scale recreational development, an inventory of retail stores, service stations restaurants, and hotels/motels was made.[7] Although this is a seemingly, mundane exercise, the relationship between such activities and tourism is quite evident, and the potential problems posed by the unregulated development of such facilities are almost too numerous to mention.

The inventory revealed that Pocahontas County was not only an isolated entity in itself, but that the resort site was within one of the most remote areas of the country. With the exception of a few very small retail outlets presently equipped only to serve basic local needs, it was determined that the nearest facilities of any significance were between 15–30 miles from the site. The potential problems of service delivery will be compounded even further when it is recognized that the highway network between these centers and the site is most difficult to negotiate—especially when considering the almost complete lack of countrywide planning controls and mechanisms. The possibility of ubiquitous franchise architecture arising in an area already so rich in indigenous local and regional culture is an unfortunate but very real prospect. Seasonal and second home communities, unless carefully and sensitively developed, also can create visual experiences entirely out of scale or context, not to mention their impact upon the physical and social environment.

Perhaps the greatest concern, however, involves the local residents themselves and the possible difficulties that an influx of new residents might create in an area relatively untouched by many facets of contemporary society. While it often is a difficult matter to accommodate, a recognition and respect for local values and culture hopefully would

[7] The inventory was derived from the Dunn and Bradstreet Reference Book (January 1974), with further confirmation being made via field surveys.

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underlie any decision involving significant change for the area. Without certain controls, it is quite possible that a group of politically sophisticated non-resident megalopolites could begin to manage various facets of activity within the region.

Attitudinal considerations

Given the face that this is an isolated rural area and that many local residents enjoy relative freedom from environmental regulations associated with a growing tourist industry, an effort was made to monitor certain attitudes held by a cross-section of county residents. This survey was undertaken to determine whether local attitudes reflect the anti-growth syndrome noted in other scenic areas of the United States,[8] or if residents anticipate the regional spillover effects the project will exert upon the physical environment, economic and social institutions, and job market.

To survey local attitudes toward development, a questionnaire was administered on February 19, 1974, to all students attending the only high school in the county. It was assumed that such student opinions would represent a cross-section of local family attitudes. The assessment of such attitudes and impressions is an important but often negleted aspect of any environmental impact analysis—especially when considering individual differences in knowledge, purpose and standards of desirability. Secondly, it is our assmuption that the attitudes of future residents and the potential labor force of the county are very significant.

Among the findings from the 492 valid questionnaires (an 80 percent sample) were several interesting facts and attitudes relating to the group. First, approximately 27 percent of the students indicated that their fathers were unemployed. It would appear, therefore, that the Snowshoe project might provide job opportunities for a certain number of county and regional residents, and somewhat mitigate the local impact of a chronic unemployment situation.

Second, 82 percent of the students indicated that education beyond high school was very important to them, but 68 percent expressed a desire to live in the county after graduation. When interpreted in the light of reality, the magnitude of both responses undoubtedly is overly idealistic. Nevertheless, it is likely that any employment possibilities generated by Snowshoe and related activities will be attractive to a certain number of the county's young adults.

Third, 77 percent of the students felt that Snowshoe would have a positive impact upon the county. This confirms the results of other studies which show that overall opposition to development (i.e., the no-growth movement) is rather weak in economically depressed areas, and among lower income people especially.[9]

Also of significance, however, were the 23 percent who felt that Snowshoe would have a negative impact upon the county. This is a sizeable minority that might be a most effective source of opposition

[8] See, for example, Clifford E. Southard, The Anti-Growth Syndrome in the Pacific Northwest (Washington, D.C.: Department of State, Senior Seminar in Foreign Policy, 1973), 47 pp.

[9] Ibid., p. 2; and A. J. Wiener, "The Future of Economic Activity, With Questions and Answers," Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, 408 (July 1973), pp. 50–51.

during the early stages of planning, promotion, and development. The opposition existed despite the Snowshoe Corporation's effective, low-key public relations campaign (only 18 percent of the students were unaware of the nature of the project).

Conclusion

This study has shown that at present Pocahontas County's service and delivery systems are equipped to handle no more than basic local needs, with the problems compounded even further by an inadequate road network. In addition, the lack of planning controls could lead to negative ramifications as far as future development is concerned.

The attitudinal survey perhaps raises more questions than answers, but it does indicate the need for further analyses of local attitude when developing environmental impact reports. While this study shows that at least in one area of Appalachia, attitudes toward recreational development generally are optimistic and favorable, it also demonstrates the need to determine the location and magnitude of opposition and support groups for a project having substantial local and regional impact. Few studies demonstrate the many nuances of opinion that may be held by various subgroups within seemingly homogeneous population aggregates.

Hopefully, this study has presented issues for consideration when evaluating the adequacy of regional service facilities and/or the receptivity of local populations to a new development or industry. These kinds of data will assist decision makers in comprehending the potentialities problems which may be anticipated when a particular development course is chosen. It is quite obvious that before "complete" environmental impact statements can be written, additional research will have to be devoted to the diverse properties of the social, economic, and cultural realms.

THE URBAN SHADOW: THE RURAL FRINGE OF EXPANDING URBAN AREAS

INTRODUCTION

(By John Minton, Asheboro Department of Planning, Asheboro, N.C.)

A great deal of time and effort, possibly too much, has been expended in forecasting, analyzing and otherwise dealing with change and growth in urban areas. We are now beginning to direct the same skills and methods to rural change and growth; our presence at the Boone Conference is a good illustration of such concern. Somewhere out here, though, we must conceptualize an "edge," a line to which urban development has expanded and beyond which the area is still undeniably rural. Indeed, if such an edge cannot be easily found and plotted, it must then be arbitrarily established if only to help build and maintain our order of things as we would have them.

In reality, the rural fringe of expanding urban areas is a vague, amorphous area marked by changing landscapes, changing ownerships, and changing values, monetary and otherwise. Rising expectations are likely to be matched by growing hostilities as changes occur, not so much as a result of local personal preferences than as a result of response to market pressures in our predominately free-enterprise society.

The urban shadow is real, though often unmeasurable, existing in varying shades of grey at the interface between the purely urban and the purely rural. This interface is often most apparent in the disruptive, damaging effects of unsightly, uneconomic land uses. It is most unfortunate that land use and development are often controlled inadequately, if at all, in the fluctuating transition zone which marks the urban shadow.

The following papers deal with the problems of the urban-rural interface on two levels, a general overview of the potential impacts of change (Bingham), and a possible solution to the control of probable change on a regional basis. (Perry).

RURAL PERSPECTIVES ON URBAN EXPANSION: A NEGLECTED DIMENSION IN PLANNING

(By Edgar Bingham, Emory and Henry College, Emory, Va.)

The past two decades have seen the publication of a vast array of horror stories. Most alarming, though, is the idea that the non-fiction, real life publications are much more terrifying than the products of the most distorted human imagination. Can you think of fiction more chilling than "Silent Spring," written by a scientist basing her predictions in good scientific fashion on what she saw happening at the time she was writing the book? Even more frightening is "Since Silent Spring" by Frank Graham outlining the many deadly possibilities of which Miss Carson spoke that became realities in the eight years from 1962 to 1970. Not intended as an alarmist publication, but still in the real life horror category are Gottman's "Megalopolis" and Edward Higbee's "The Squeeze," the first tracing the interlocking urban sprawl linking the cities of the east coast from Portland, Maine to Hampton Roads, Virginia, and the second envisioning an all-encompassing megalopolis growing like a virulent cancer without order, without effective planning, with the multiplicity of jurisdictions vying for power and revenue sources, and whose functional roles overlap at every corner. Almost as frightening is a book written in 1970 by Dr. Higbee entitled "A Question of Priorities" and undoubtedly influenced by Buckminster Fuller's "Operating Manual for Spaceship Earth." Higbee envisions an urbanized world, increasingly dependent upon its own man-made synthetic environment of integrated resource-supply systems. He suggests that if man is to enjoy the benefits of his potential, the world of the future must be a managed world, in which man is challenged to invent a culture of compatibility for mass populations which will live at high densities in synthetic habitats. Orwell's "1984" written at least partly with tongue in cheek; Higbee's book is a serious work written by a highly competent scholar. In fact, he warns us that "if, for lack of faith in abundance through technological progress, or for lack of faith in the capacity of society to be responsible, urbanization should fail to accommodate all the world's expanding populations within its ecological system as it evolves, it could strangle humanity in an authoritarian tyranny more rigid than it has heretofore experienced."

Alongside of Fuller and Higbee is the work of Ian McHarg who suggests that man's idea that he was to have dominion over the earth and everything that is found therein is pushing us toward an early doomsday. McHarg suggests that the sum total of the human manipulation of the natural environment to date has been one of general destruction rather than beneficiation. His warning is that man push toward the understanding that he is but a single cell in a vast eco-

system, but whose function is vital to the functioning of the whole. In other words, rather than our survival being dependent on our ability to manipulate our surroundings, it will be dependent upon our ability to find our niche in the system and adapt ourselves to it.

Barry Commoner in "The Closing Circle" points to the sharp contrast between the logic of ecology and the state of the real world. He suggests that what is real in our lives and, in contrast to the reasonable logic of ecology, chaotic and intractable, is the apparently hopeless inertia of the economic and political system; its fantastic agility in sliding away from the basic issues which logic reveals; the selfish maneuvering of those in power; and their willingness to use even environmental deterioration as a step toward more political power. He further adds that "we are in an environmental crisis because the means by which we use the ecosphere to produce wealth are destructive of the ecosphere itself," concluding that "the present system of production is self-destructive; the present course of human civilization is suicidal."

The one thing that Commoner, Higbee, Fuller, and McHarg have in common is that all see an already highly urbanized society becoming more urban dominated, and an already highly technical society becoming more technical. Those within our society who are already concerned about the way human development has tended to by-pass ecological realities are becoming increasingly skeptical that the urban-oriented decision making powers are either aware of what is of vital concern in the rural landscape, or willing to measure these concerns against the short term economic benefits to the urban center and its economic base.

Urban expansion generally follows a multipronged approach. Industry moves beyond the city boundaries in search of cheap land, lower taxes, easier access, or to escape restriction on operations imposed by the city. Housing developers generally invade the rural areas because of the appeal of open space along with lower taxes and cheaper land. And wherever the people move market-oriented functions such as retail stores, these are quickly followed by service establishments, churches, etc. Most urban expansion does not follow a predetermined plan, therefore, likely creating more problems in the future than it solves in the present. There will be demands for development of new roads, water supplies, sewage systems, garbage pickup, fire and police protection and schools, which the rural administrative unit beyond the city may not be in a financial position to provide. At the same time, development, whatever character it takes, is still highly dependent upon the city, and the city becomes more financially burdened in providing urban services to people who cannot be asked to share the resultant tax load.

One of the many disturbing real-life non-fiction stories that I have read within the last few years came from an article by Robin Best entitled "March of the Concrete Jungle." Best points to the prospect of a paved over Britain by the year 3000 A.D. For England and Wales the presence of green open space will have disappeared by 2800 A.D. Already 11 percent of the land south of Scotland is urban and within another century this will have grown to a quarter of the entire area. According to Best another 300 years will see all the lower grade farmland and countryside not specially protected for amenity purposes

eaten away—and development beyond that time will engulf the wilder hills and moorlands with brick and concrete. During this century the rate of urban spread in England has been about one percent per decade. To indicate that Mr. Best is not being overly pessimistic, he suggests a conservative growth of population for England and Wales to 100 million by the year 2100 A.D. Assuming that these people are to be provided with what amounts to a reasonable amount of living space the total urban land area by that time will amount to close to 8.9 million acres or approximately 27 percent of the England-Wales area.

Lest we cynically suggest that this is England's problem, let us look at some projections for the United States. Harold M. Mayer writing in the "Yearbook of Agriculture" for 1958 noted that the urban land area of the United States at that time was more than 18 million acres, or about one percent of the total, which shows the rate of conversion of farm land into non-farm use increasing at an increasing rate, suggesting that urban areas might logically be expected to double the amount of land they occupy within two to three decades. The present one percent mentioned above has been drawn from an arable land base that might optimistically amount to 25 percent of our total land area; the land that will be occupied with the doubling predicted is and will be cropland that is used for highly intensive specialty products with a value per acre much higher than that of the other agricultural land. Thus while the total acreage lost should not appear alarming, the total productivity lost will be much more so. With the world of 1975 facing the most serious food crisis in modern history, this loss becomes more significant.

Up to now our primary focus has been on the rate at which urban expansion has been taking place. Of equal or perhaps of more concern are the paths that urban-oriented land uses follow. In Southwest Virginia the expanding ribbons of concrete, the super highways that connect our urban areas, almost always follow a path that splits the broadest and most fertile valleys down the middle, the industries which follow invariably select sites also on the fertile alluvial bottomlands, as do the housing developers, and the various service activities. As M. Mason Gaffney noted in the 1963 "Yearbook of Agriculture," the most striking aspect of cities today is their rapid outward thrust. The value of land for urban use being what it is, cities, if not controlled, gobble up farmland at will.

Once the city starts to expand shock waves extend far beyond the visible evidences of its spread. Rural land comes under the urban value system long before urban uses reach out to claim it, for the possibilities of urban or industrial occupation excite speculative hopes until the price influence extends far beyond the urban limits. Once the price of land reaches a certain level it is no longer practical for it to be used for farming, because the speculative buyer has taken it out of use, content to hold it as it is until its access value increases to the point whereby it is profitable to sell. The buying goes on, for no one ever expects the value of land to decline, and generally those who buy land in advance of its ultimate use seldom, if ever, pay tax on the rise in value as long as they do not sell.

While we are primarily concerned about the loss of good farm land through urban expansion, we are also concerned about the aesthetic deterioration and the loss of many human values associated with the

urban advance. Extending far out from the city's border narrow strips of development front every major road, littering the rural byways and the approaches to the city. The impact of speculative land buying creates a no-man's land around the city, with once highly productive fields filled with weeds and pioneer shrubs, silent testimony to the inefficiency of the economic system that breeds such practices. Urban expansion generally precedes the services that are really needed to sustain it. Housing developments occur before sewage facilities are developed, often in densities that are too great to be served by septic systems and sometimes over bedrock and soils totally unsuited for such disposal. These inadequate septic or sewage systems can cause odor pollution as well as surface and subsurface water pollution.

Environmentalists have expressed repeated concern over the human occupation of delicate, precarious ecosystems. Iran McHarg in "*Design with Nature*" points up the impact of man's building of settlements upon primary and secondary dunes in New Jersey. Houses have been built, the anchoring vegetation destroyed, the groundwater withdrawn, and the surfaces paved and covered with the high density housing characteristic of high value beach front locations. In 1962 a violent storm lashed the entire east coast and the estimated damage in New Jersey amounted to 80 million dollars. Twenty-four hundred houses were destroyed, 8300 more severely damaged and several people killed. Immediately after the waves had subsided, though, the wreckage was either pushed into the sea or burned, the streets were uncovered, and new houses began to be built again.

Ecologists are much concerned about urban sprawl reaching out from our coastal cities from Maine to Texas, destroying the habitats of thousands of forms of wildlife that happen to be in its path. Dr. Stephen W. Hitchcock noted recently that the salt marshes margining most of the Atlantic shore serve as spawning grounds for more than 75 species of fish, many vital to our commercial fishing industry. For Virginia alone, total destruction of these would mean a loss of perhaps 25 million dollars a year to the fishing industry, in the 95 percent of the commercial catch is nurtured by these marshes. But the battle that is being waged is for high stakes, and land values have been rising at phenomenal rates. Tidal marshes in the Hackensack area of New Jersey were selling for $110,000 per acre in 1962 and undoubtedly go much higher today. The value of marshland in Virginia would not likely go so high but its value for urban-oriented uses would be relative to its distance from major urban centers. It's too bad that economically ingenious man has not come up with a cost-benefit analysis that would give an appropriate economic evaluation to the continued existence of the infinite variety of life that occupies this major habitat, to say nothing of the aesthetic values of these wildlife areas to the human spirit.

Far removed from the major urban centers, but generated by their demands and duplicating the city's focus on things, are the recreational and second home complexes that have sprouted up in almost every beautiful landscape in the American realm. As they have grown to massive size they have created many of the same problems the urban dwellers left their city homes to escape. Rural roads, never built to meet a heavy demand, become clogged with traffic; air, water,

and noise pollution become more and more serious in previously untouched areas.

Perhaps in the long run the greatest cost of urban extensions into rural areas has been the drastic alteration of the human mix and of human values. The changes, though subtle in form, are devastating to a way of life that has been a part of Americana from the time of the nation's inception. Though the people were often not in close physical contact, the sense of community has probably been as strong in rural America as anywhere on earth. Neither the urban-oriented housing developments, nor the urban-sponsored second home villages seem to have the capacity to engender community feeling. Their occupants often share nothing in common other than adjacency on a common plot of land. The community church, the earlier social center of rural America, no longer plays a community binding role, and community-sponsored activities of earlier rural America, such as quilting bees and barn dances, have been relegated to the cultural museum. The common human identity with the land has been or is being destroyed by speculatively high prices, forcing would-be small farmers to give-up and get-out or be absorbed by a colony of strangers. In other cases, strong capital-based agri-businesses, controlled from urban centers, absorb the good land and change the farm community to just another form of industrial complex. In either case, the culture dies or is preserved, as the Appalachian culture is preserved in Cades Cove, Tennessee, in a cultural museum. Even here in reality it is dead.

SOLUTIONS?

To awaken a complacent America to the urgency of the problems that we face. But J. Russell Smith, thinking earlier of the tragedy of men moving blindly toward a destiny of despair in the Great Plains, commented that "their battlefield of defeat, of the triumph of their enemies, is not marked by tablets, monuments, and the usual signs of victory." And to put his appropriate analogy into a modern context, "A lion does not write a book, nor does nature erect a monument over a landscape that was once the home of a hermit crab." We may shed a tear as we see an Appalachian culture die like Alice's walrus as he ate the last oyster.

To solve the problems we are talking about would be far simpler under a totalitarian regime, but to date task forces assigned to come up with solutions to the human problems generated by urbanization here have been far less successful than meeting the simple problems like conquering outer space.

Basic to any solution to the problems identified in this paper will be not only effective, long range comprehensive planning but also a drastic alteration of some patterns of thought that are considered basic to our American way of life. First, and most basic, Americans must recognize that our resource frontiers are gone. This does not mean that our resource base is inadequate, but it does mean that if we are to leave our children's children a resource base adequate for their needs, we must become more responsible in the way we use our land. Waste not, want not is a dictum that is difficult for Americans to grasp but grasp it we must. The concept that bigness equates with goodness, or that economic growth necessarily correlates with human

progress are ideas which must be reexamined. While our democratic national base was built on the ideal of the unqualified right of the individual to do whatever he wishes with whatever he has title to, our future must demand responsibility as a prerequisite to continued control of property, and it may increasingly demand an evaluation of the impact of a desired land use on the broader community as space within this community grows more limited.

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PLANNING FOR DEVELOPMENT IN A RURAL-URBAN FRINGE AREA: THE LOWER ELK EXAMPLE

(By John L. Perry, Tennessee Valley Authority, Knoxville, Tenn.)

INTRODUCTION

The rapid increase in urbanization and suburbanization in the United States since World War II has resulted in a substantial amount of land being converted from agricultural and other rural land uses to urban land uses. The amount of land converted to urban uses was, in 1970, estimated by the Department of Agriculture as being in excess of 500,000 acres each year.[1] Rarely has the process of land conversion from rural to urban uses produced a painless, planned, and productive land use pattern. More frequently the problems of sprawl, congestion, inadequate open space, and environmental deterioration are characteristic byproducts.[2]

A number of different methods are currently being employed or advocated by urban planners and other specialists to control the type of development that occurs when urban growth expands into rural areas. These methods include agricultural large lot zoning, extra-territorial zoning, planned unit development, new towns, tax abatement and tax deferral methods, and utility extension policies.[3] However, to date these methods have been largely ineffective, undoubtedly due to inherent "defects," improper use, improper coordination, and apathetic public acceptance.[4]

This paper describes an approach for guiding development in a predominently rural three-county area adjacent to the lower Elk River in north Alabama and south central Tennessee being subjected to urban growth pressures. The approach places heavy emphasis on advanced public land acquisition, provision of a high level of urban services and amenities at key locations within the area, and the use of a state-chartered local development agency to guide anticipated future growth. The major impetus for the development of the proposal is the concern of local officials and residents about the future environment of their rural countryside.

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[1] Frank P. Grad, Environmental Law (New York: Matthew Bender, 1971), pp. 8–9.

[2] See Marion Clawson, Suburban Land Conversion in the United States (Baltimore: John Hopkins Press, 1971); R. O. Harvey and W. A. U. Clark, "The Nature and Economics of Urban Sprawl," Land Economics, XLI (February 1965), pp. 1–9.

[3] Gunnar Isberg, "Development Problems in the Urban-Rural Fringe: Need for Unified Plans and Programs," paper presented at the American Institute of Planners Conference, 1972, pp. 6–9.

[4] See Robert Freilich and John Ragsdale, Jr., A Legal Study of the Control of Urban Sprawl in the Minneapolis-St. Paul Metropolitan Region (St. Paul: Twin Cities Metropolitan Council, 1974), pp. 1–6; and Marion Clawson, "Historial Overview of Land-Use Planning in the United States," in Environment: A New Focus For Land-Use Planning, (Washington, D.C.: National Science Foundation, 1973).

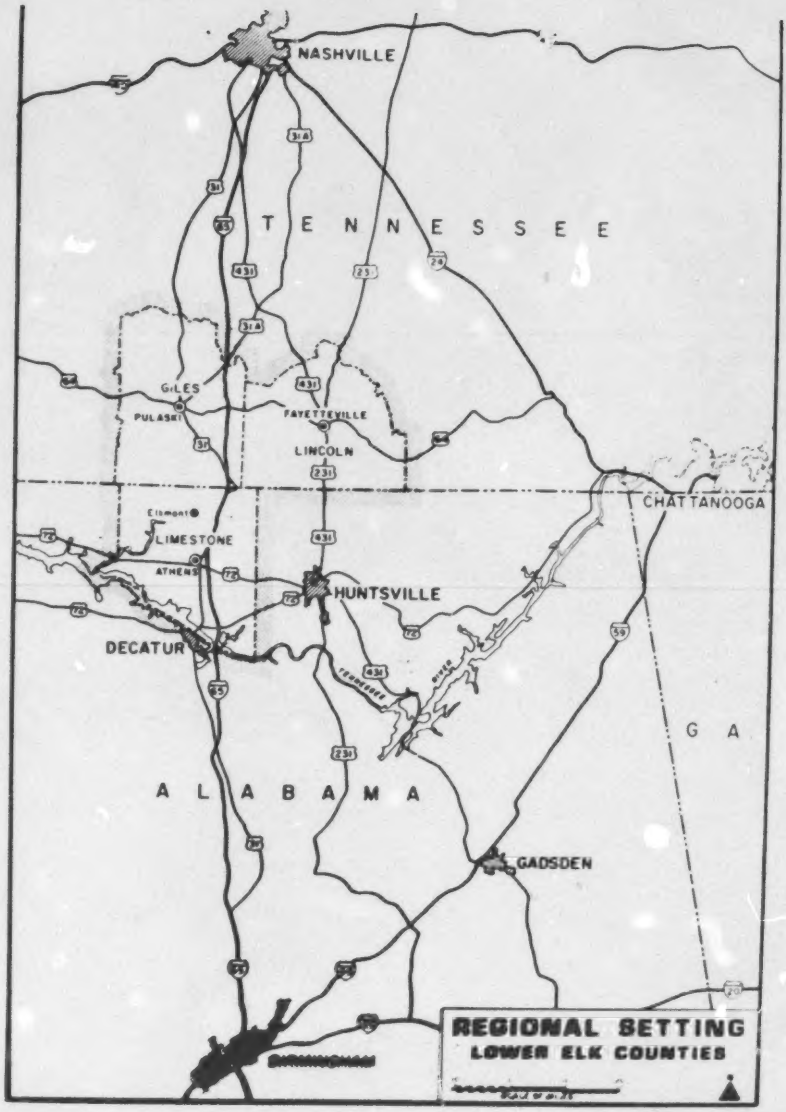
NASHVILLE
TENNESSEE
GILES
PULASKI
FAYETTEVILLE
LINCOLN
CHATTANOOGA
Elkmont
LIMESTONE
ATHENS
HUNTSVILLE
DECATUR
GA
ALABAMA
GADSDEN
REGIONAL SETTING
LOWER ELK COUNTIES

FIGURE 1

Present pattern of growth in the lower Elk area

The lower Elk River area consists of Lincoln and Giles Counties, Tennessee, and Limestone County, Alabama (figure 1). These counties are predominantly rural in nature and their respective county seats of Fayetteville, Pulaski, and Athens represent the major population concentrations. Major industrial and urban complexes exist in the adjacent counties of Madison and Morgan, Alabama, which respectively contain the cities of Huntsville and Decatur.

Table I shows the population and employment growth that has occurred in the lower Elk counties and Madison and Morgan Counties between 1960 and 1970 and the projected growth trends for the counties in the near future.

TABLE I.—POPULATION AND EMPLOYMENT FOR 1960, 1970, 1980, AND 2000, HISTORICAL AND PROJECTED POPULATION AND EMPLOYMENT BY RESIDENCE

County	1960	1970	1980	2000
Population:				
Giles, Tenn	22, 410	22, 138	24, 200	31, 300
Lincoln, Tenn	23 829	24, 318	25, 000	28, 000
Limestone, Ala	3F, 513	41, 699	48, 200	63, 700
Madison, Ala	11 , 348	186, 540	226, 600	330, 800
Morgan, Ala	6 , 454	77, 306	104, 700	189, 900
Employment:				
Giles, Tenn	A 149	8, 673	10, 200	13, 100
Lincoln, Tenn	9, 128	9, 377	10, 000	11, 500
Limestone, Ala	11, 013	14, 693	18, 800	25, 200
Madison, Ala	42, 098	71, 920	97, 400	142, 200
Morgan, Ala	20, 005	27, 746	40, 800	77, 900

Source: "U.S. Census Population". Employment projections by TVA, economic research staff. Population projections by the State Social Science Advisory Committee.

As the table indicates, most of the major industrial development during the last decade occurred in the Huntsville and Decatur areas, but has begun to move to adjacent areas within the last few years. For example, General Motors recently announced plans to locate a new plant near Athens, Alabama, with an initial employment of 750 people. The completion of Interstate 65 should further encourage industrial development in Limestone County.

In the past, most of the residential and commercial development in the lower Elk area has been located in or near the rural service centers of Fayetteville, Pulaski, and Athens; however, the expansion of the Huntsville-Decatur industrial complex during the 1960's resulted in an increased demand for residential development in the rural areas. As a result, residential development has occurred along most major connector highways and many county back roads, typically starting with scattered single-family housing on relatively large lots (2 to 10 acres) strung out along the highways. Occasionally, small subdivisions of five or ten houses have been constructed in various parts of the county. After sufficient development had taken place to create a market, commercial development occurred on or near areas of good accessibility. The high cost of providing urban services for this pattern of residential growth has usually resulted in an inadequate provision of such services as sanitary sewer facilities, water systems, fire protection and recreational facilities.

Efforts made to plan growth

Recognizing the nature of the growth trends in the lower Elk counties, local officials and residents of the area began discussions oriented toward planning for future growth. These individuals were concerned

that without some conscious, concerted planning effort their rural environment would be destroyed and replaced by uncontrolled, inefficient, sprawling strip development.

The principal thrust of these efforts has been through the Elk River Development Association (ERDA), a local citizens organization. Following a series of local seminars sponsored by ERDA involving residents and citizens of the lower Elk counties, the overall objectives of a program to guide development were established:

1. Provide a range of choices in living conditions:
   (*a*) Upgrade the existing rural service centers (Pulaski, Fayetteville, Athens).
   (*b*) Establish one or two new rural area employment centers.
   (*c*) Develop a series of new rural neighborhood villages (3,000–4,000 population).
2. Maintain the national beauty and openness of the three-county area.
3. Improve job opportunities in existing towns and provide for ready access to jobs outside the area.
4. Provide housing for a full range of social, economic, and racial groups.

In an effort to explain the problems and the proposed development plan for the area, local officials and members of the ERDA held several public meetings, and met with state and federal officials concerning the proposal. Following these meetings, it was decided that initial efforts to implement the development program would focus on the establishment of a system of well-planned rural villages, based on the recognition that growth in the lower Elk counties is likely to be more residential in character than industrial. They believed that major industrial development would continue to occur in the larger urban complexes such as Huntsville and Decatur with some minor spin-off industrial development in the rural service centers and along the interstate. As a result the concern was not so much with industrial development as with residential expansion and concomitant problems of land use, public services, transportation, and commercial facilities.

The rural villages would offer a high level of public services and amenities as an alternative to sprawling, unplanned strip development.[5] The basic assumption behind the rural village proposal is that a well-planned development with a full range of public services at a price competitive with existing sprawl development can direct the demand for housing away from the unplanned sprawl and toward the planned development.[6]

The system of rural villages

As was noted, the specific form which this local idea has evolved into is a concept for a series of rural villages. Thus, rather than permit future housing development to scatter into an unrelated, sprawling, unplanned strip along major highways, local residents propose to construct rural villages to meet the housing demand (figure 2).

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[5] A study of residential living preferences in the lower Elk counties conducted by the Center for Community Studies at Peabody College for the Elk River Development Association indicated widespread support for the rural village proposal.

[6] See New Communities: Challenge For Today. An American Institute of Planners Background Paper—Number 2, The AIP Task Force on New Communities, 1968; and Marion Clawson. "Urban Sprawl and Speculation in Suburban Land," Land Economics, May 1962, Vol. XXXVIII, No. 2.

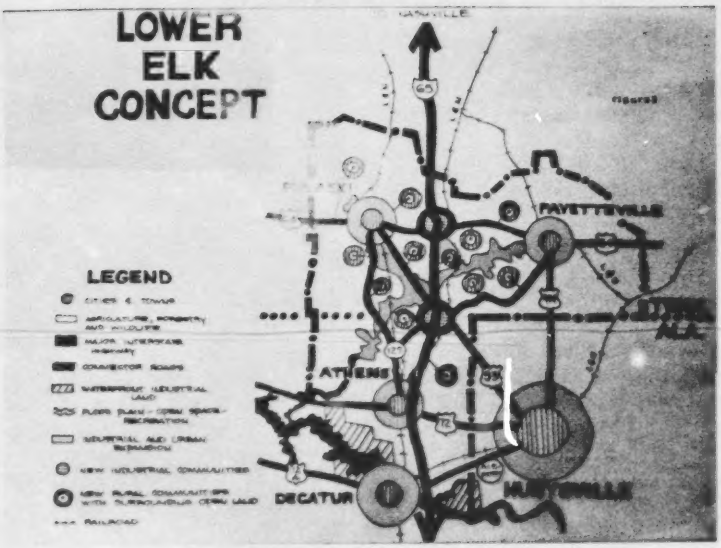

FIGURE 2

State-chartered local development agencies, the Alabama Elk River Development Agency in Limestone County, and the Tennessee Elk River Development Agency in Lincoln and Giles Counties, will be responsible for the overall development of the rural villages, with the power of eminent domain and the authority to enter into agreements with the federal, state, and local governments.[7] The agencies also are authorized to issue tax exempt bonds to pay for the cost of land acquisition, resources development, and incidental purposes.[8]

However, it should be noted that the state agencies will be responsible only for the land development; the construction and financing of the individual homes would continue to be through the private sector of the local economy.

Each of the villages will be designed to contain approximately 1,500 to 2,000 acres and would accommodate 3,000 to 4,000 people. The site for each village would be carefully chosen to minimize the adverse impact on the environment. The density and character of the residential development in the villages would vary depending on the local housing demand. Wherever a unique environmental feature exists, the design of the village would preserve that feature. Each village will be surrounded by open space dedicated in perpetuity for common uses such as gardening, raising of livestock, recreation, and other rural-outdoor pursuits. Preservation of existing forest cover, recreation areas, wildlife and other environmental assets will be stressed. Outdoor recre-

[7] Alabama Public Acts, 1965, Act No. 627, Creating the Alabama Elk River Development Agency. Tennessee Public Acts, 1963, Chapter No. 336, Creating the Tennessee Elk River Development Agency.
[8] Ibid.

ation uses and common areas will be developed including bicycle and riding trails, nature preserves, and fishing areas.

Thus, the focus of the villages is residential development with adequate provision of related public services where they are not available through existing governmental units. There is no attempt at industrial development within the villages although there may be some minor spin-off industrial development close to some of the villages. Major work centers will continue to be located in developing urban or rural service sectors.

The first village—Elkmont, Ala.

A site near Elkmont, Alabama, has been tentatively identified as the location of the first rural village. Elkmont is a small incorporated town with a 1970 population of 394 and is located approximately ten miles north of Athens and three miles west of Interstate Highway I–65. The proposed rural village site is located just west of Elkmont's city limit and Highway 127. The site of approximately 1,450 acres is essentially an elongated plateau surrounded on three sides by a series of steep ravines that open to flood plains cut by creeks flowing into the Elk River. Much of the site is relatively flat or undulating although there are moderate to severe slopes in places. Figure 3 shows a proposed

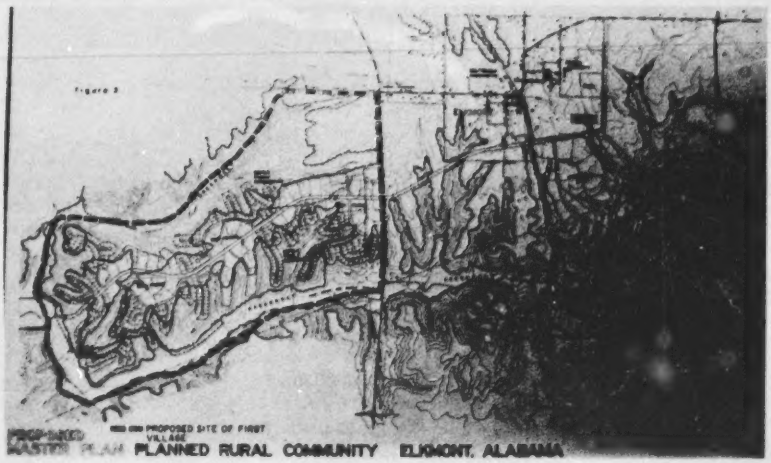

FIGURE 3

development plan for the village. The village will consist of approximately 900 acres of developed land and approximately 550 acres of open space primarily on the periphery of the village. The areas of steep slope will be retained in their natural state and flood plains will be reserved for common open space. These areas will be available for gardening, horse and cattle raising, and other recreational and rural pastime activities. A series of foot, horse, and bicycle trails will be developed in the open space areas linking them to the living areas. The village will contain housing of varying type, size, and cost for approximately 1,300 families. Available public incentive programs to provide

for the housing needs of families of low and moderate income will be utilized in the development of the village. All utilities in the village will be underground including electric and telephone lines. The village will have central water and sanitary wastewater systems. Arrangements have been made for a supply of potable water from the Athens, Alabama, Water Treatment Plant located on the Elk River. The village will have a secondary treatment plant to treat wastewater effluent, and a spray irrigation system is being investigated to provide tertiary treatment. The village proposal offers opportunity for other innovations too, in the areas of transportation and energy conservation.

Planning and engineering studies for the Elkmont village completed to date have been primarily financed by the Tennessee Valley Authority. Congressional appropriations have been included in TVA's budget to cover the cost of these studies for the last two fiscal years. Also TVA has issued an environmental statement that describes the environmental impacts of the Elkmont village.

Currently, three possible funding arrangements are being considered to implement the project: Congressional appropriations, private corporations, and through the Department of Housing and Urban Development's Title VII New Communities Assistance Program or Title X Mortgage Insurance for Land Development and New Communities.

The initial cost of developing the village is estimated at approximately five million dollars. This money would be used by the Alabama Elk River Development Agency to acquire land, which they have under option, and construct service facilities. Once the services have been provided, land will be sold by the agency to private contractors and individuals. Land use controls and regulation of building in the village will be carried out through the use of restrictive covenants. Any profits incurred by the Alabama agency will be placed in a revolving fund for use in developing subsequent villages.

Conclusion

It is obvious that if the problems of sprawl and environmental deterioration threatening many rural areas are to be effectively dealt with, viable and realistic alternatives to the traditional development process are needed.

As one author has noted:

> America has now entered a new era of urban development. It has some choices to make. It can let future growth spread out from existing centers in incoherent and unorganized form—or it can see that growth is planned and designed in such a way as to create genuine communities that serve the deepest needs of their inhabitants.[9]

The officials and citizens of the lower Elk River area, through the Elk River Development Association, have assembled such an alternative in the proposed concept for development in the lower Elk area. This proposal offers a unique opportunity for the development of a system of rural villages to be planned, funded, constructed, and administered as an alternative to unplanned, inefficient sprawl development which is occurring around so many of the nation's urban centers and throughout much of the rural countryside.

[9] Carl Feiss, "America's Neglected Tradition," in The New City (New York: Frederick A. Praegen, 1969), p. 99.

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RURAL DEVELOPMENT: INTERNATIONAL PERSPECTIVES

INTRODUCTION

(By Ronald D. Garst, University of Maryland, College Park, Md.)

The United States is one of the most highly urbanized countries in the world. Elsewhere, because rural peoples frequently constitute the majority of the population, planning is predominately rural planning. Thus it is appropriate to examine the role of planning from two perspectives: the macro-view provided by Kirk H. Stone in his paper, "The World's Increasing Rural People: Needed Geographical Analyses" and the micro-view of Brian C. Bennett in "Rural Community Planning Alternatives: The Yugoslav Model-Local Participation in Social Change." The first paper offers positive suggestions about research that is needed if we are to accommodate the ever expanding world population, that by the year 2000, using even conservative projections, will surpass 6 billion. The second paper examines the role of individuals in the decision making process and the position of those individuals in the social structure.

There are basically two alternatives for rural settlement. One is to increase the density of population in presently occupied areas and the second is to open up sparsely populated or heretofore unoccupied land. Both options will be used, and both present problems. In some cases, such as Bangladesh, current population densities are high (over 1300 people per square mile for the country as a whole), virtually all available land is currently being used, and the population growth rate is 1.7 percent annually, a 41 year doubling rate. No other nation appears willing to welcome the excess population of Bangladesh, so the only possibility is population control, either by conscious decision or by reaching environmental limits.

Fortunately, however, many countries have within their own territories the possibility of rural absorption, because relief via massive international migration does not appear to be on the horizon. In cases where internal accommodation is possible research is needed to determine the environmental limits, given the technology, organizational capacity, and economic resources of the country. Government sponsored settlements schemes have been so expensive and unsuccessful that many countries have abandoned them as a means of absorbing large numbers of people. Instead they are directing their efforts at intensification on presently occupied land because economic returns per unit of investment are greater. A principal reason for the excessive cost of new settlement schemes is the cost of infrastructural developments, which are already in place in presently occupied areas. A secondary

reason for failure is that generally settlement schemes are in areas of inferior carrying capacity, because high quality zones have long since been occupied.

Rural to urban migration is going on at a very rapid pace in many countries. Urbanization and economic development are concomitant processes, but excessive urban growth, particularly when it is taking place mainly in the primate city, has a number of undesirable results. Therefore, rural development is viewed as a means to reduce the urban problems of congestion and unemployment. In most developing countries the urban hierarchy is quite lacking. Instead there is the main city, probably the capital, a second city that is only a fraction the size of the largest city, followed by several more cities, each one progressively smaller. Most rural peoples find themselves far removed from an urban center that could provide many of the services that they require. By dispersing the growth of urban peoples to numerous centers that are located throughout the country it is possible to relieve some of the growth pressure from the prime city and make rural living more attractive. We must not view urbanization and ruralization as mutually exclusive processes, but rather as processes that go hand in hand, with rational urbanization a prerequisite for the absorption of rural peoples, and rural absorption necessary for rational urban growth.

The framework in which decisions are made can be viewed as a spatially expressed social-structural hierarchy. There is a continual reduction in areal size and an increase in the number of units with movement from the national to the regional to the local level. This spatial expression is often manifest in the organizational charts of institutions, with each "box" on the chart representing a geographic area. Each organization will normally have its own individual hierarchial set of authority lines, with different geographic areas attached to each. As Professor Bennett points out, individuals with the greatest voice in local decision making are those able to occupy roles in different spatial-social structural hierarchies and at different levels within an individual organizational hierarchy.

THE WORLD'S INCREASING RURAL POPULATION; NEEDED GEOGRAPHICAL ANALYSES

(By Kirk H. Stone, University of Georgia, Athens, Ga.)

Geography was born as a multi-disciplinary and multi-scale technique of locational analysis. At birth its focus was people. At present it remains so.

BACKGROUND

Of course, the details of geographical development changed during the centuries. At first the few, like Strabo, were generalists and philosophers. Those who came later were explorers and map makers, more concerned with description than with explanations of "why there?". But in time further specialization led to analyses, many so specialized that they spun off to become separate disciplines. Some of these were more concerned with physical elements of the landscape and some with cultural components. Still, coming to the 20th century the discipline centered, sooner or later, on humanity. It now serves that humanity in both practical and theoretical ways.

Early on the discipline recognized a world population problem. Not so much in world time as in regional space. The uneveness of very high population densities and growth in the world was emphasized by Behm and Wagner in 1874.[1] Textbooks and articles warned of approaching excessive densities. By the 20th century the subdisciplines included population geographers researching at world levels and settlement geographers analyzing at national, regional, and local scales.

Many references demonstrate the continuing geographical concentration on analyzing people's locations. Some 4995 listed in 1940 [2] and another 2563 in 1962 [3] covered only the more accessible parts of the primary geographical literature. In addition some dozen texts, in at least three different languages, have centered on population geography in the past two decades. And, by now, most academic departments have formal training in the geography of population as well as in urban geography (and a few in rural settlement) to show students the complexity and utility of people-location analyses.

In short, geographers have done much in population analysis. We have covered topics from world distributions of birth to those of death, from medical geography to that of house types, and from the details of such as Costa Rica's great growth in numbers to the generalities of Soviet eastward migration. We have helped figure out how to provide the basics of developing countries' censuses with modern materials in remote sensing. But it is clear that so much more remains to be done.

[1] Behm, E. and H. Wagner. "Die Bevölkerung der Erde." Erganzungsheft No. 35, Erganzungsband No. 8 in "Petermann's Geographischen Mittellungen." Gotha, 1874.

[2] Dörries, H., Seidlungs-und Bevölkerungs Geographie (1908–38), Geographisches Jahrbuch," Vol. 55, 1940.

[3] Zelinsky, W., A Bibliographic Guide to Poulation Geography, University of Chicago, Department of Geography, Research Paper No. 80," 1962.

Multiple-scale analyses

In the first place it is necessary to have multiple-scale analysis of population distribution change.[4] Worldwide migration is being studied for a few areas of out- or in-migration. But who is considering a single movement at several scales? Who is studying the potential immigration of, say, Italians to Brazil and then their being located in NE Brazil, and then in Piaui or Maranhao, and then in a specific area? Until geographers and their colleagues run through all these scales of consideration, the results are incomplete and often impractical. We are in dire need of distributional maps showing total populations and changes in totals and parts at several scales larger than 1/5,000,000 so that individual countries will have the basic resource inventory—their people's distribution—that they and world planners need.

To this we must add an analysis of where there are areas of potential absorption of increasing rural populations. This is available now at small scales (Fig. 1) but much research is essential to refine it to large scale for planning purposes.[5]

FIGURE 1

Further we need distributional analyses of total numbers and details, such as, medical elements, at larger scales than country levels. Data on percent of women at risk of unwanted pregnancy who were practicing contraception are presented by whole countries some two years behind current times and in large groupings. The same is true of reported ratios of legally and illegally induced abortions per 1000 live births. Worse yet, some countries have a census which may be characterized as "pick a number between 8 and 18 million." For these the primary geographical distributions are plotted very generally. How can we make real progress at the scale we are working is quite a puzzle!

[4] Stone, K. H., Multiple-Scale Classification for Rural Settlement Geography, "Acta Geographica," Vol. 20, 1968, pp. 307–328.

[5] Stone, K. H., Geographical Characteristics of the World's Discontinuous Settlement Region, in press.

Ruralizing

Much has been written about urbanizing populations in the world; geographical bibliographies and treatises on it are legion. But less has been said about ruralizing even though some 62% of the present world population is rural. And rural folk are expected to increase by an other 896 millions by the year 2000.[6] In at least 45 countries in the world ruralizing is the major growth problem (Fig. 2).

MAJOR RURAL POPULATION GROWTH BY COUNTRIES AND THE DISCONTINUOUS SETTLEMENT REGIONS' POTENTIAL ABSORPTION OF SUCH GROWTH

	Av. Ann. Rur. Pop. Growth 1960-70 (Millions)	% An. Rur. Pop. Growth 1960-70	Total Rur. Pop. 1970 (Millions)	Rur. Pop. % of Total Pop. 1970	Total Pop. 1970 (Millions)	Total Pop. An. Gr. Rt. % 1960-70	Total Pop. Gr. Rt. % 1973	Estimated Potential for Discontinuous Settlement Region Absorption	Tot. Pop. GNP Pers. 1973 ($ Equiv.)
ASIA									
India	9 021	2 3	442 2	81 2	544 6	2 4	2 5	None	$110
Indonesia	1 751	2 0	97 0	82 1	118 2	2 4	2 9	Much	80
Pakistan	1 521	1 7	96 0	84 1	114 2	2 1	3 3	Very Little	100
China	1 480	0 3	573 9	76 5	750 7	1 1	1 7	Much	160
Philippine Is.	816	3 3	29 4	76 8	38 3	3 5	3 3	Much-Some	210
Thailand	798	3 0	31 2	87 0	35 9	3 2	3 3	Some	200
Turkey	402	1 8	24 2	68 8	35 2	2 5	2 5	Little	310
Burma	396	1 9	23 1	84 2	27 4	2 1	2 3	Little	80
Iran	308	2 0	17 5	60 7	28 8	3 0	2 8	Little	380
N. Viet Nam	299	2 0	16 8	76 1	22 1	3 2	–	Very Little	100
S. Viet Nam	243	2 0	13 6	73 9	18 4	2 7	–	Little	200
Sri Lanka	216	2 3	10 6	83 4	12 7	2 5	2 2	None	110
Afghanistan	214	1 5	15 6	93 3	16 7	1 5	2 4	Little	80
N. Korea	208	2 2	10 7	78 1	13 7	2 6	2 8	None	330
Nepal	167	1 7	10 6	95 1	11 1	2 4	2 2	Some	80
S. Korea	163	0 9	19 6	61 0	32 2	2 6	2 0	None	250
Khmer Rep.	101	2 0	5 9	87 2	6 8	2 3	3 0	Some	130
Iraq	098	2 2	5 1	56 5	9 1	2 9	3 4	Little	320
Taiwan	073	1 5	5 1	35 6	14 4	3 1	2 2	Little	390
Malaysia	059	1 2	5 9	54 2	9 4	3 1	2 7	Much	380
Saudi Arabia	030	0 6	5 5	74 8	7 3	1 7	2 8	Very Little	440
AFRICA									
Nigeria	1 395	3 2	52 1	79 1	66 0	3 7	2 6	Much-Some	120
Ethiopia	371	1 8	23 1	93 4	24 7	1 8	2 1	Some	80
Sudan	342	2 8	14 3	91 7	15 6	2 9	3 1	Some	120
Tanzania	316	3 1	11 9	92 9	12 9	3 4	2 6	Much	100
Egypt	252	1 5	18 7	56 3	33 3	2 5	2 1	Very Little	210
Kenya	235	2 8	9 8	90 8	10 9	3 0	3 0	Some	150
Zaire	231	1 8	14 4	82 8	17 4	2 1	2 1	Some	90
Morocco	178	2 0	10 0	64 7	15 5	2 9	3 4	Some-Much	230
Malagasy Rep.	116	2 2	5 9	87 0	6 9	2 4	2 1	Some	130
S. Africa	113	1 2	9 9	49 6	20 0	2 3	2 4	Little	760
Algeria	103	1 3	8 4	61 8	13 6	2 4	3 3	Some-Little	300
Upper Volta	096	2 1	5 1	95 3	5 4	2 2	2 0	Some	60
Cameroon	078	1 7	5 1	87 2	5 8	2 2	2 0	Some	180
Ghana	064	1 2	5 8	66 1	8 8	2 7	2 9	Some	310
Mozambique	059	0 9	6 9	94 0	7 4	1 1	2 1	Some	240
LATIN AMERICA									
Brazil	448	1 1	43 5	46 5	93 5	2 8	2 8	Much	420
Mexico	394	2 1	21 1	41 8	50 6	3 8	3 3	Some-Much	670
Colombia	125	1 4	9 5	45 0	21 2	3 2	3 4	Much	340
Peru	080	1 2	7 3	53 9	13 6	2 1	3 1	Some-Much	450
Argentina	050	0 7	7 1	29 5	24 1	1 9	1 5	Some-Much	1160
EUROPE									
Hungary	034	0 6	6 3	57 3	11 1	1 1	0 3	None	1600
U. Kingdom	032	0 3	11 7	20 9	56 1	0 6	0 3	Very Little	2270
Portugal	029	0 5	6 2	63 5	9 7	0 9	1 0	None	860
Italy	011	0 0	26 0	48 5	53 6	0 8	0 7	Very Little	1760

SOURCES: For columns 1 thru 6 K. Davis, *World Urbanization 1950–1970*, Vol. 1, Berkeley, Cal., 1969 and United Nations, *Growth of the World's Urban and Rural Population, 1920–2000*, New York, 1969; and for columns 7 and 9 Population Reference Bureau, *1973 World Population Data Sheet*, Washington, 1974.

FIGURE 2

[6] United Nations, "World Population Conference, Recent Population Trends and Future Prospects," E/Conf. 60/3, N.Y., 1974, Annex II, Table 19, p. 22.

Specifically with respect to this problem where should the research of all population specialists, geographers included, be centered? The answers are clear if we consider past growth added to contemporary densities and expected growths. At smallest scale the priorities are 1) Asia, 2) Africa, 3) Latin America, and 4) Europe in that order. At larger scales the priorities are: 1) India, 2) Indonesia, 3) Pakistan (and Bangladesh), 4) China, 5) Nigeria, 6) the Philippine Islands, and 7) Thailand. Next, and still major problems, are: 8) Brazil, 9) Turkey, 10) Mexico, 11) Burma, 12) Ethiopia, and 13) Sudan. Some 32 other countries follow in a specified order (Fig. 1).

In addition there are 11 countries with presently declining rural populations and the associated problems of shrinking distributions. The top priorities of these by size of decline are: (1) Japan, (2) U.S.S.R., (3) U.S.A., (4) E. Germany, (5) France, and (6) Poland.

So the geographical challenges are: (1) where are rural populations exerting pressures on the land and how may they be released, (2) where are urban people increasing pressures in countries and how may they be lightened, (3) where are total populations remaining relatively stable or declining so that absorption is possible, and (4) which parts of which countries are suitable for additional new rural settling? The last is a major separate subject involving the delineation of areas of potential new rural settling in the world.

Other geographic questions, some hardly touched at either small or medium scales, are: Where are what types of natural hazard risks to high-density populations? Where are what types of causes of unnatural births and deaths? Where are various types and strengths of permanently disabling diseases? What are the historical and contemporary distributions of racial types and linguistic dialects? What are the distributions of measures of individual income other than GNP/person? What are the measures of various kinds of geographic isolation? What are the significant distributional characteristics of age and sex ratios as opposed to the standard divisions in use? Where are the various poverty and dietary levels in the world? And what is the worldwide changing distributional significance of rural industry?

In short, geographical analyses of population have made some contributions. But none of us can stop. The needs of countries like India, Indonesia, Nigeria, the U.S.A., and Japan are simply too pressing in both scientific and moral ways.

RURAL COMMUNITY PLANNING ALTERNATIVES: THE YUGOSLAV MODEL—LOCAL PARTICIPATION IN SOCIAL CHANGE [1]

(By Brian C. Bennett, Appalachian State University, Boone, N.C.)

Local level decision making, social structure and socio-relational events in the community of Sutivan in the Brac commune, Yugoslavia are the subjects of this paper. This study based on the author's participant observation, is not intended to be a representative sample of local community decision-making in Socialist Yugoslavia, but is simply intended to be a contribution to the over-all research efforts on the part of American and Yugoslav social scientists to explain the functional realities of the Yugoslav socialist experiment.

Yugoslavia represents a country in which a socialist economic development planning alternative is showing considerable promise as a workable experiment in local community participation. This experiment is taking place within the socio-structural framework of decentralized political-economic decision-making. Decentralized or self-governing socialism is unique to Yugoslavia and forms a social revolution which is attempting to involve broad citizen participation in the political and economic affairs of the community and higher levels of government.

The Yugoslav experiment has not only been directed at removing the federal state as an expression of political economic capitalism, but the experiment also has been directed at removing the federal state as an expression of centralized, bureaucratized political-economic socialism.[2] In the early 1950's the Yugoslavs legislated economic enterprise autonomy (within over-all Federal and Republic planning objectives) by developing decentralized public business enterprise entities where worker councils were to assume and delegate management functions. The worker councils were an anti-Stalinist, anti-centralist experiment

[1] This paper draws upon the author's research in Yugoslavia in 1970–1971 and in the autumn of 1974. Some of the data are part of a larger ethnographic description and community analysis of a rural Dalmatian island village which was the author's Ph. D. dissertation in Anthropology, Southern Illinois University, 1972. The dissertation study emphasized the community's socio-structural relational systems; e.g., family households, community association, and private and public industrial/commercial enterprises. The objective was to determine how these community social systems had been altered by, had contributed to, and were responding to past and present economic and political changes. Socio-economic change is described along with analysis of the economic and political decision-making involved in that change. The complete study has been published by R and E Research Associates, 4843 Mission Street, San Francisco, California, 1974.

Readers are also referred to three papers (unpublished) by the author which deal with specific examples and interpretations of change in Dalmatia: "Socialist Entrepreneurism in Yugoslavia: A Case Study," 1973; "Local Community Decision-making in Zoning Law Implementation: A Case Study in Dalmatia, Yugoslavia," 1973; and "Peasants or Businessmen? Socio-Economic Change in Rural Coastal Dalmatia, Yugoslavia," 1974.

[2] See Rudi Supek, "Problems and Perspectives of Workers' Selfmanagement in Yugoslavia," in "Yugoslav Workers' Shelfmanagement," ed. by M. J. Broekmeyer, D. Reidel Publishing Company, Dordrecht, Holland, 1970, for a discussion of the objectives of workers' selfmanagement in Yugoslavia. Also, Gajo Petrovic, "Marx in the Mid Twentieth Century" discusses the problem of worker alienation in the situation of socialist state property control as exemplified in the Soviet Union.

in economic enterprise management. There was also an attempt to develop a direct participatory democracy in which workers, in their self-managed public enterprises, and in their roles as citizens in their respective communities, participated more fully in the local political processes through delegated representation into the commune, republic, and federal levels of government.

In this paper the author will briefly review some examples of this decentralized political economic participation within the social structure of a rural village community and commune. The examples focus upon citizen participation or lack of participation and will reveal that decision-making tends to be concentrated upon certain individuals. Observations of this concentration are descriptive and somewhat subjective. The whole concept of concentration of decision-making is at this point only a hypothesis for further research. Investigations of worker council management participation is the subject of other research in Yugoslavia.[3]

Within the rural village community of Sutivan, social relational systems exist on the structural levels of family, extended family mutual cooperation, ego-centered networks,[4] and community associations. All levels of social relationships within Sutivan operate beyond the community into the larger Brac commune political unit.[5] An individual may be able to function on all the structural levels within the community and also within the projections of these structural levels into the commune. Those who function most successfully within these projections are community leaders and those responding most successfully to the development of commercial tourism and industrialization which are replacing a traditional viticulture and olive oil production agricultural economic base. The projection of the community structural levels of social relationships into the larger society is referred to as differentiated activity fields (Redfield, 1956: 113–131) or differing social structural levels into which an individual might interact, taking on different roles at the different levels. The development of leadership and delegated participatory democracy takes place most notedly in these differentiated activity fields.

Rural village community and commune are the two levels of social structure with which the author is concerned. The description of a community social structure based upon a concentration in private business enterprise will reveal how individuals can interact into community decision-making. However, the commune structural level (a

[3] See Solomon John Rawin, "Management and Autonomy in Socialist Industry the Yugoslav Experience," unpublished manuscript, Sir George Williams University, and "Yugoslav Workers' Selfmanagement," ed. by M. J. Broekmeyer, for discussions of worker council management participation in Yugoslavia.

[4] The ego-centered network is a relationship set which interacts around an individual in a specific context and depends upon that individual as the central organizing force (Mayer, 1966: 97–122). In Sutivan an ego-centered network around a village native who was a sea captain and crew agent for a major Yugoslav. English, Dutch shipping company was an important factor for explaining the large number of seamen in the community.

[5] A commune would be similar to a county in the United States, except that the commune has delegated to it more political power than does a county. This is in keeping with the Yugoslavs' attempt at decentralization of political power. The commune of Brac has around 14,000 people and covers a 250 square mile island with 14 villages and several hamlets. The commune has three branches of government: legislative, administrative, and judicial. The legislative assembly has been bicameral, one council with delegates from places of residence and the other council with delegates from places of employment. Under the February, 1974 Constitution the comune, republic, and federal legislative bodies will become tricameral with the third council being made up of delegates from places of political affiliation. In the autumn of 1974, there was a great deal of confusion as to how this delegate tricameral system was going to work.

political structural concept with developing economic and social structural conceptualizations) is replacing the community as the social activity field or structure within which individuals assume decision-making roles. Private businessmen do not appear to be fully participating in the decision-making at the commune structural level. It appears that individuals in public enterprise management positions or in positions of political relation to those management positions are the decision makers. This tendency would seem to follow in a country practicing an economic ideology of public ownership of the means of production.

In the rural village community of Sutivan the socio-structural level of the nuclear family [6] is the setting of private family tourist home business development.[7] These individual family businesses are extended into larger kin-based business units on the basis of mutual reciprocity between families. Family businesses are also extended to community-wide cooperation. Through associational membership in the community Tourist Society and through participation in the local community governmental association and the community marketing association, in order to explain the loci of decision-making within families developing private tourist businesses, the author has used the concept of enterpreneurism as developed by Fredrik Barth in "The Role of the Entrepreneur in Social Change in Northern Norway" as someone who takes the initiative in administering resources and initiates and coordinates a number of interpersonal relationships (1963:5).

The modernization of former agricultural family households into tourist businesses or gostione [8] requires prerequisite capital and entrepreneural ability. Such entrepreneural abilities have been developed by a younger male generation that have accumulated the necessary capital and business ability from work experiences outside the local area primarily as seamen, but also abroad in Australia, New Zealand, and Germany. In addition, a plastics factory has been developed within the community, which employed 70 people in 1974, and has been a major internal source of wage capital. Of the 15 major gostione, eight were capitalized with experience and money earned abroad or from employment on the high seas. The remaining gostione, seven major and 16 small, derived their capital primarily from wages earned in the local plastics factory or self-generated their capital from the gostione operation. Interviews with entrepreneurs of the largest gostione revealed an astuteness of economic comprehension and involvement in community activities such as the Tourist Society and community government.

The Tourist Society acts as a commercial agent for the gostione operators. This office, which was established and is maintained by the voters of the community, receives the tourists and arranges accommodations for them in the private gostione and rooming houses. In addi-

[6] In 1970, only half of the 194 households in Sutivan were nuclear or conjugal-natal families with children. The remaining households were either single elderly individuals or elderly couples. Grape vine disease caused massive emigation from the community in the early 20th century and thus reduced family size. The tourism of the 1970's should reverse this outflow of people.

[7] In the tourist industry an individual can develop a private tourist accommodation business with a maximum of five employees outside of family members.

[8] Gostione (pl.) are private enterprise tourist accommodations providing both rooms and restaurant facilities. In the communities in the Brac commune, these gostione were being developed in family homes.

tion, the society maintains the beach areas, has planned and financed the construction of beach houses and showers for the tourists, and is responsible for the landscaping in the community. Society revenues are derived from the operation of the community cinema and from a tax placed upon each tourist who stays in the community.

Because so many families are directly involved in tourism through their gostione, the tourist society is the association in the community which receives the most interest from the residents. Seven officers are elected every two years, with at least one public meeting of the society being held every year. In handling the problems related to tourism, the society provides a forum for collective opinion, e.g., in 1971, the considerable ill feeling in the community towards a campground west of the village, which was operated by an outside interest. Community residents felt that this campground interest competed with the gostione and brought into the community a tourist who spent little money.

Even though the society performs an important function in bringing together the interests of the gostione businessmen, it does not exist without problems. Community residents, for example, will serve only if they can spare the time from their own business. Some of the gostione businessmen have attempted to circumvent the tourist society by setting up their own long term contracts with urban public enterprises to receive worker tourist groups without going through the agency of the tourist society. Also, the tourist society as a functioning association in the community depends upon Sutivan's development response to the growing demands of tourism in the private business sector. Other communities on the island commune have met the demand by construction of public enterprise hotel accommodations or construction of urban public industrial enterprise financed summer resort facilities.

The Mjesna Zajednica (Local Association) is the equivelent to a town council and is concerned with municipal projects such as water and sewer line construction. The vitality of the local association depends upon its leadership and the degree of community interest. When the community adults meet to discuss community affairs and elect representatives to the local association it could be said that the community Socialist Alliance is meeting. The Socialist Alliance was created in Yugoslavia as an attempt to involve all the citizens in the political decision-making processes in the community, coordinate interests, and channel social influence to centers of decision-making (Pasic, 1970:11). In Sutivan, it was observed that the public voter meetings to discuss the affairs of the local association do not occur as frequently today as they did in the past because of the lack of interest. At the 1971 voters' meeting the Socialist Alliance elected a new 15 member local association and a board of five men were established to head the association. All were young men in their 30's who were very much involved with tourism, three of them operating large private gostione.

It is difficult to evaluate the role of the Communist League in the affairs of the community. It is the author's subjective opinion that the League has carried little influence in community affairs as its scope has been primarily ideological. It has been stated that the League * * * "injects into political life and the process of political

decision-making an awareness of the general, long term interests of the socialist transformation of society. * * *" (Pasic, 1970: 14). Some members of the Sutivan local association and some non-association members of the community who are dynamic in their leadership and response to the economic changes claim they are not members of the League.

Two other associational structures in the community are the Communist Youth League, which organizes dances and pre-lenten carnival activities that maintains and decorates memorials in the community. The Roman Catholic Church has a very important function as a community identity mechanism with active community participation in sacrament days and funerals. However, the church is an anachronism and the church societies no longer have community functions.

At the community level, successful private businessmen take an active role in the affairs of the community through involvement in the local association and the tourist society. However, the large number of private businessmen in Sutivan appears to be unusual when compared to other communities in the commune where public enterprise hotel development seems to be the dominant response to the growing demands of tourism. Therefore, the tourist society and the local community association as differentiated activity fields tying together local private business and citizen interests into community efforts might well be unusual. Thus, these social activity fields appear to have limitations for individuals developing roles of community participation and the possible differentiation of these roles into the larger social structure of the commune. Also, these associations are only the beginning of differentiation of role activity from that of family business roles and local community roles to expanded roles in commune level and public business enterprise decision-making activity fields.

The realities of business management for the local community public enterprises, the plastics factory, and the hotel, are such that decision-making concentrates with certain individuals. This is apparent with the director of the plastics factory. The author has developed the label socialist entrepreneur [9] to describe people in the public enterprise [10] management positions observed in the Brac Commune. The plastics factory in Sutivan has been developed largely through the efforts of one individual in the community. This individual in 1958, as director of the agricultural workers' marketing association was able to use financial reserves of the association and personal relationship that he had with a major Croatian pharmaceutical public enterprise to develop the contracts for the manufacture of plastic medical containers. Through his ability the Sutivan plastics factory has grown in 1974, had 70 employees and contracts with other Yugoslav drug enterprises. Although a workers' council management concept exists,

[9] Socialist entrepreneur is one who manipulates not only relationships and financial resources, but he manipulates these relationships and resources within a political structure where a unit of government (the commune) enters into the financing of public enterprise development.

[10] Public enterprise as a concept is similar to the corporate concept in capitalism in that the enterprise forms a separate legal entity. However, the public enterprise owns itself, not stockholder ownership and not state ownership. It is a separate financial and decision-making productive unit providing goods or services to a supply and demand money market. The enterprise is run on a profit and loss basis with land, labor, and capital cost factors. Theoretically, the decision-making structure is within the enterprise with the flow of decision-making going from the worker to delegates on worker councils to worker council appointed management.

deference is made to the director of the plastics factory in regards to decision-making both within the enterprise and in the community.

The director today not only serves in his capacity as manager of the factory, but he also was the community delegate to the commune assembly and through the assembly has served as vice-president of the commune. Through his political connections into larger differentiated role positions in the commune government this individual takes on an additional role of being included in other decision-making, e.g., helping to determine the feasibility of commune guarantees of bank loans for public enterprise projects in the commune. An example of the foregoing was the decision to develop a project to expand and modernize the public enterprise hotel in Sutivan. This decision involved the commune president and vice-president in their capacities as commune administrators of commune loan guarantees.

However, a hierarchical structure of decision-making was involved in these loan guarantees. The hotel project initiated in 1970 had not materialized in 1974, because distribution of federal and republic tax monies through the banking structure for development loans was not available for the tourist industry in 1973–74 when the project was to be funded. The author feels that another factor might be involved, that of limitations on the enterpreneural abilities of the commune vice-president. Not only had the hotel project failed, but the hotel, which for years had been operating at a deficit, was in the summer of 1974 taken over by the Jadran Hotel enterprise in the adjacent community of Supetar. This meant that the vice-president had the entrepreneural ability to bring about the development of the plastics factory, but the hotel management relied upon the entrepreneural ability of others in the commune.

The author observed that in hotel management, like the plastics factory development, economic planning and decision-making appeared to lie with those individuals who were in both economic and political positions. For example, the hotel directorship position in the Community of Postira was filled by a man who had served in the commune assemble and secretarial offices, and it appeared that he was appointed to the directorship because of these connections. Likewise, the hotel director of the Jadran complex in Supetar was a man who maintained direct ties into the commune Communist League, maintained ties into the commune government, and ties into the Republic governmental level.

The realities for these several public enterprises that rely on commune guarantees of bank funding and commune wide economic growth planning are such that it takes socialist entrepreneurship to successfully manage the enterprise. These managers must have political position, and through worker council and community deference to the economic and political roles they play a disproportionately large role in decision-making in the commune.

In a more specific event related to rural planning, the author, in an earlier description of local community decision-making in zoning law implementation [11] concluded that different stages of environmental impact planning involved levels of decision-making ranging from

[11] Brian C. Bennett, "Local Community Decision-Making in Zoning Law Implementation: A Case Study in Dalmatia, Yugoslavia," 1973.

community to commune. Under United Nations Special Fund financing a cooperative environmental planning effort was started in 1967 between the English planning firm of Shankland, Cox, and Associates of London and the Yugoslav planning enterprise. The Town Planning Institute of Dalmatia. The planners in contractual relationships with commune governments provided the expertise in drawing up controlled growth projections for the tourist industry in the central Dalmatian littoral. The implementation of the zoning laws emphasized local commune and community autonomy. The over-all plans for the commune were drawn up under contracts between the commune administration and the Town Planning Institute. Into the decision-making on the plan entered the commune urban planning council (which in the Brac commune included an architect working for the Town Planning Institute of Dalmatia) and commune administrative officers as well as the commune assembly.

Within the over-all environmental impact decision plan a commune community could contract with the Town Planning Institute for the creation of zoning plans for specific growth areas in the community. The implementation of such a plan for Sutivan revealed that the local community president and the commune administrative registrar in the community were the primary decision-makers and enforcers of over-all commune decision plan objectives in deference to community voter meeting decisions regarding the specific community plan.

At both the commune and community decision-making levels, although citizens were consulted, the actual decision-making tended to gravitate to those who had the planning expertise and to those who were in political positions to manipulate relationships. However, an altruism did appear to exist in their behavior in that these individuals appeared to be operating at a social level of acting upon the needs which satisfy the total community.

Conclusions

Although at this time suggestions about the degree of democratization in political-economic participation must be somewhat subjective, the author feels that his research reveals the following conclusions about citizen participation at the community and rural commune levels of planning, economic, and political decision-making:

(a) Individuals who have the capability and financial opportunity to earn capital from foreign employment will be in favorable positions to develop private tourist businesses and through those businesses play roles in village community governmental affairs.

(b) Individuals who can project themselves beyond the local community to the manipulation of political and economic relationships at the commune level will be in positions of greater participation and influence in the economic growth and development planning in which the commune government is asserting the basic decision-making role. Individuals appear to project themselves to the commune participatory level primarily through management positions in public enterprise, though this is still an unproven hypothesis.

(c) It appears that the commune participatory level of government is replacing that of the local rural community. Also, participation at

the commune governmental level will increasingly exist through the management positions in public enterprise because public enterprise receives the emphasis in the socialist ideological and financial structure of the commune and higher levels of government in Yugoslavia.

Discussants

Dyck: There are two main areas to which I would like to give attention in discussing Professor Bennett's paper, namely (1) the policy-making process and (2) the concept of regionalism in Brac.

Bennett has focused particular interest on the role of the individual in making planning decisions. This is entirely appropriate, both in terms of political theory and Western interest concerning the real character of individual participation in Yugoslav political processes. I would wonder, however, about the relative importance of key individuals in the decision process as compared to groups (such as workers' councils), institutions (such as party structure and the new Constitution of 1974), the sequence of events, and the influence of professional planners and researchers. The 1974 Constitution calls for equal representation of consumers and providers on workers' councils. Bennett's methodological focus on the "event" of a planning decision is fine, as a place to look for the role of an individual decision-maker, but there are also key events which themselves operate singly or sequentially to have a profound influence on policy. I noticed that Yugoslav architects and architect-planners enjoy high professional status in Yugoslavia, and I would think that their influence upon decisions in the areas to which they address themselves would be substantial. In summary, Bennett has given us informative data but it would be even more useful if placed in a more comprehensive context.

There has been a very high degree of commitment to local autonomy, in Yugoslavia, to the extent that regionally oriented approaches are ideologically suspect. In Slovenia, where I have done field work, the only public service function organized Republic-wide on a regional (multi-communal) basis in 1973 was health. Only a few other geographic areas in Yugoslavia have begun experimentation with area-wide, multi-communal approaches to this function, or any other. Although the Yugoslavs give attention to interrelating reduction, public service, and governmental units through interlocking memberships, the relative autonomy of self-managing units seemed to me to be a problem in 1973. For example, in Slovenia, Republic and region-wide planning in the environmental health area could be implemented, in large part, only by autonomous communal sanitary inspection units. A great deal of "slippage" was apparent.

Most generally, the concept of regional development, in which urban and rural development are linked in terms of functional integration of programs, intercommunity and intergovernmental cooperation, and integration of planning and implementation, is just beginning to find expression in Yugoslavia.

From the professional planner's point of view, it should be very interesting and productive to continue examination of the Brac experience in terms of the regional dimensions mentioned above, as related to the decision process. One might expect a continuance of

the apparent current trend towards embracing the larger regional community in the decision process, with maintenance of local participation and influence. The whys and hows of this should provide an informative counterfoil to the attempts of other countries, such as Australia, to decentralize their regional development approaches.

It seems to me that in general, we planners have been very guilty of perhaps an insufficient interest in the decision-making process. We have promulgated plans, we have been very much concerned with establishing goals. We haven't been as much interested in the issues which divide people, the problems people face, from the point of view of the policy processes which actually are generated to deal with these issues and problems. This paper has indicated a great deal of insight into an area that's extremely critical for planners to know more about. We operate so often on the seat of our pants, and we need to know how individuals operate, how groups operate, how institutions tend to influence decision-making, and how events influence decision-making.

Questioner: I don't see where there is an awful lot of difference between Sutivan and Gatlinburg, in the way decisions are made.

Bennett: I haven't been to Gatlinburg, but I am told that it is like Cherokee and if like Cherokee there is a lack of planning. In Sutivan, for example, they attempted to develop a hotel modernization project using three large old former-nobility homes. The Town Planning Institute of Dalmatia contracted with a Czechoslovakian architectural firm out of Prague which had been involved with historical preservation in the town center of Prague. These planners were contracted because they had the expertise and could draw up the plan less expensively than a Yugoslav enterprise.

The historical preservation project plan would have kept the modernization of these homes for hotel accommodations within the confines of the historical facade of the community, e.g., no high rise, poured concrete hotel construction would be allowed in the community. The architects utilized a panoramic view of the community and old photographs so that they would not alter the architectural character and facade. Though the initial contract with the Czechoslovakian firm was made by the Town Planning Institute, a second contract was made directly between the commune and the Czechoslovakian firm, whereby the commune president circumvented illegally the Town Planning Institute's role in these affairs.

The realities of decision-making in Yugoslavia may be similar to the realities of such in Gatlinburg because people in political positions have disproportionate decision-making power. However, in Yugoslavia development limitations are coming from the Republic (State) level of government in respect to financing growth. And, as I pointed out earlier, controls are placed upon development through a hierarchial structure of decision-making from community through commune to the Republic. That is something that is lacking in Gatlinburg.

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PART III

IMPLEMENTATION OF RURAL DEVELOPMENT OBJECTIVES

INTRODUCTION

(By Burton L. Purrington, Associate Professor of Anthropology, Appalachian State University, Boone, N.C.)

Despite the massive rural economic recovery programs of the New Deal and subsequent Federal crop subsidy programs, rural America has not in general received the attention it has deserved during its last half-century of radical change. In part the lack of planning and direction of the processes of change in rural America has been due to a failure to see many of these changes as problems—immediate or potential. But even more important is the fact that we have simply lacked the methods, concepts, and/or institutional structures to deal effectively with rural problems and rural development.

The introductory papers for this session deal primarily with the institutions involved in rural development. While Richard Hartman and Walter Guntharp are cautiously optimistic about the potential success of the insitutions they represent (regional councils and the Federal government respectively), Lynn Muchmore emphasizes that the first order of realistic planning is to recognize the limitations inherent to government at any level as well as to councils and other regional administrative organizations. In particular "comprehensive" rural development programs are generally doomed to failure because of our presently inadequate organization of institutions for rural planning and development. "Organization," Muchmore notes "logically precedes planning."

The workshops were dominated by descriptions of specific institutions and programs geared to the implementation of desirable developmental processes in rural America, to the methods of providing educational and financial support for such programs, and to the methods by which local citizens can play the most active and productive roles in the planning and implementation of rural developmental processes which, of course, affect them more profoundly than anyone. This session was not devoted entirely to methods and techniques, however. One workshop dealt with various approaches to "regionalism" a major concept of rural planners. In addition, agricultural economist Mayland Parker discussed the systems of values that are basic to the planning of any developmental program and suggested that a cross-

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cultural approach to value systems indicates that a communal approach to land use is preferable to our present private/corporate approach. Reaction to this paper, pro and con, was spirited, but it was clear to all that specific programs and institutions set up for the implementaion of development objectives are of limited value unless those objectives are defined with reasonable clarity, rest on solid assumptions, and are frequently re-examined in terms of the values they reflect and the values we want them to reflect.

REGIONAL COUNCILS AND RURAL DEVELOPMENT

(By Richard C. Hartman, Executive Director, National Association of Regional Councils)

Next year we will be celebrating ten years of life for most regional councils in the United States. It is fascinating to reflect on how young we are and yet how rapidly we have evolved, not only here in the South, but across the country. This also sets the stage for us to look ahead to the forces that will be affecting us in the next few years.

Let me just give you some brief information on regional councils today. To me it is very revealing and shows, to some degree, how far we have come:

1. There are approximately 650 regional councils in the United States today.
2. There are approximately 300 SMSA or metropolitan councils, and some 35 of these councils are serving interstate areas.
3. The remaining (350) councils are in non-metropolitan areas.
4. Over 40 states have established substate districts, served by regional councils, as the basis for A–95 and state and federal program planning.
5. For the entire United States to have substate districts only about 100 additional districts and councils remain to be created.
6. About 80% of the regional councils are now controlled by governing bodies made up of at least 51% general purpose local government elected officials.
7. Thirty (30) states are now providing over $12 million in support of regional councils--an increase of $3 million over a year ago.
8. Almost all councils are voluntary in membership except those in Portland, Oregon; Minneapolis-St. Paul; Baltimore, and Boston.
9. The major regional council program areas include: Housing, A–95 Review, Land Use, Water/Sewer, Open Space/Recreation, Transportation, Solid Waste, Law Enforcement, Economic Development, Comprehensive Health, Air and Water Quality, Manpower, Airports, Drug Abuse, Aging and Technical Assistance.
10. Altogether, regional council budgets total $125–$150 million a year with 52% (federal money), 38% (local money), and 10% (state money).
11. The average regional council's staff consists of 10–12 people.
12. The average council's budget is $200–$250,000.

This information gives us an idea of where we are today, but these aspects of our growth lead very effectively into a discussion of the issues we face in the future. To understand those issues, we must analyze some of the trends occurring in the United States.

First, we must recognize that many of the domestic policies in the next few years will be influenced by our economic situation. A deepening of the recession will probably lead to substantially enlarged public works and manpower programs. These programs, I believe, would have to rely heavily on the planning and coordination that regional councils can provide. The economic situation has already lead to attempts by the President to cut back on other types of domestic programs. Right now, we are fighting a major battle to get Congress to deny the 50% cutback of 701 funds for FY 75 and provide an appropriation for FY 76. Thus, we are caught in economizing responses by the national government to the serious economic situation.

Another underlying issue related to our current economic situation is the whole issue of scarcity of resources, not only in terms of energy, food, chemicals and lumber, but fiscal resources. We are a nation which has always had an abundance of resources. Now, in the mid-1970's, we find ourselves in a position of running out of resources. This directly relates to the role of the national government in providing financial support and assistance to needed state and local programs. This trend also shows the increased need for those of us in city and county government, whether we be in the large metropolitan areas or the rural areas, to work together to husband these increasingly scarce resources through areawide planning, coordination, and decision-making.

A third major trend is the substantially decreased leadership of the national government. The decreasing leadership is reflected in the New Federalism approach of returning more responsibility for program direction and management (and it would also seem funding) to state and local government. This trend is paradoxical for many of us who are both locally elected officials and regional council leaders for two reasons.

First, we greatly applaud the opportunity of local government to have more decision-making capability and not be mandated by the national government as to how we conduct or carry out a program. On the other hand, many of us are very concerned that the national government continue to exercise strong leadership and assistance on some issues, such as the economy, housing, environmental quality and social justice. But also more importantly, to those of us wearing a regional hat, the shift in national government leadership requires more effort on the part of state and local government to strengthen and more effectively use our regional agencies. More of the push for regional councils must come from us. In states such as Georgia, Kentucky and Texas, regional councils must work together effectively on a statewide basis.

The fourth national trend which relates to the decline in national leadership is the increasing significance of state government. Many of the federal programs (i.e. law enforcement, transportation, aging and health, and the new economic development legislation) give substantially more responsibilities to state government in allocating funds and determining how and who will plan and manage these programs. This means that we must spend an increasing amount of time impacting on governors, state legislators, and state bureaucracies to use our regional councils as the umbrella vehicles to plan and coordinate these programs. The state government also becomes very significant in terms of funding support of regional councils.

To me, these four trends: economic deterioration, the scarcity of resources, the decline of national leadership, and the rise of state government influence, stress the need for local officials to strengthen our areawide agencies. Now in doing this, I think we must be brutally candid with ourselves as to the issues we face.

There must be an agreement by the cities and counties that there will be substate areawide planning organizations created through a strong state law and governed by the constituent local government elected officials. These organizations will encompass an entire state and will be vehicles to serve, not only the metropolitan area, but regions centering around the medium-sized and rural areas.

The second issue we face is what are the responsibilities and powers of areawide councils? To me, areawide councils are of no value unless they make planning happen. By that, I mean we are not in the regional council business just to do studies, surveys, or make advisory recommendations. Local officials must sit down together to deal with problems which cross boundary lines to identify those problems and make decisions on how to solve them. We must agree among ourselves and obtain enabling legislation from the state allowing us to implement our decisions.

The rub is "what tools are we going to give ourselves as local government elected officials sitting on a regional council governing body to make planning happen?" Are we willing as a regional governing body to allocate scarce funding to priority projects in our area? Are we willing to abide by a mutually agreed-to policy for growth and development? Are we willing as the representatives of a core city or as representatives of a suburban city or county or a rural community, to sit around the table and negotiate where transportation routes will be located; where industrial development will go; and what we will do about housing and its distribution for low income families in the region. Regional councils from Puget Sound to the Southern California Association of Governments, to the Northern Maine RPC, to the Northwest Florida Development Council, are all wrestling with this same issue of what responsibilities and powers state legislation should give to our regional councils.

The best hope for the survival of local government is through our regional councils. As long as we sit on the governing bodies of the councils, we must take more responsibility to make areawide decisions which relate to priorities for project spending, which deal with social issues like housing and employment, and which assure the rural and small cities and counties technical assistance. Most of all, local governments must reason together. We must also pursue the state government with an increased vigor to assure that we get state legislation which allows us to do this and which allows us to develop our own vehicles to implement, for example, a regional solid waste disposal site or to contract with each other to carry out needed services on a regional basis.

The final issue I want to mention is communication. When the regional council movement first began, we used to refer to our purpose as the three c's—communication, cooperation and coordination. And while those of us who are on the boards of councils have certainly practiced our three c's, there are serious breakdowns in the communications process. Basically, I can identify three areas of concern—

communication between staff and policy officials, communication among board members and other policy officials in the region, and communication among policy officials and their constituents about regional programs.

First, I'm sure all of you are familiar with the charges that staff, not elected officials, run regional councils, that we are not kept informed about what our own council is doing, that we do not have the time to really dig into projects before us under A-95, and that we must accept the staff's word on consistency. Too often these charges are true, but that does not negate the need we have for regional cooperation. It means that elected officials must try to make more time for regional business, and that regional staffs must find ways to assist local officials through briefing sessions or short summaries that can be read in a harry. One approach is a liaison program like several North Carolina councils have developed in which a staff member is assigned a particular city and county, attends meetings, provides technical assistance, and keeps us all up-to-date.

This leads us to the second communications problem—policy maker to policy maker, and council staffs can assist in this. Too often Board members have become committed to regional programs; they know what's going on, but they forget about communicating with fellow elected officials who are less active. For those less active, it is their regional council too.

Which brings me to the final communications problem—our constituents. The people who pay taxes and elect local officials have a right to be concerned about regional council programs. It is our job to tell them why we are doing what we are doing, to make them understand their stake in the region, to let them know what councils are and what they are not, and most important, to get their input. Much of this right wing anti-regional propaganda that is making waves in some areas is successful because people are uninformed. And this is our fault. We must do more to make regional cooperation visible, understandable, and accessible to the public.

The National Association of Regional Councils will continue to emphasize a strong Washington presence. We will try to write into federal legislation strong areawide planning and coordinating responsibilities which will be assigned to the umbrella regional councils which are primarly composed of general purpose local government elected officials. NARC will continue to emphasize the crucial need for strong regional councils in non-metropolitan areas. Local communities, acting together, have greater political power; apart, their power is limited. Regionalism is local power!

IMPLEMENTATION AT THE STATE LEVEL

(By Lynn Muchmore, North Carolina Office of State Planning, Raleigh, N.C.)

The subject of rural affairs has something of a personal meaning for me because the majority of my years have been spent on the farm. By all present measures, the area in which I grew up was "undeveloped," although that term was not in vogue then, and I guess we were "low income," although I do not recall much discussion of that characteristic, either. I don't remember much fretting and stewing about how bad off we were; in fact, the people we felt sorry for were the Townies, the "Theys" in our life who used to come at hunting season with leather upholstered Chryslers and polished Browning Automatic shotguns that "they" invariably kept in a sheepskin case. It was later that I learned that they came from "developed" areas where higher incomes prevailed and that we should aspire to their life style. But at the time they were just city slickers who couldn't hit the broad side of a barn door, who couldn't tell a Hereford from a Guernsey, who couldn't open gates, and who always slept way past sunup.

The most revolutionary "development" that we ever felt was rural electrification—it changed a lot of things. We took the fan off the windmill and put an electric motor on the well. The kerosene barrel disappeared, and all lamps were stored in the basement. Eventually the Briggs and Stratton that putt-putted half of each day was replaced with a more civilized and less cantankerous, one-third horse power, a plug-in version.

We still lived in "sub-standard" housing because we did not have an indoor toilet—"they" thought this was incredible. But somehow those icy trips on winter nights never shocked us into the realization that our community was under-developed. Now I live in a home with three bathrooms—all indoors—and I cannot sit down to read the newspaper without being convenient to at least one.

"You've come a long way, Baby." I sometimes think. Then again I wonder whether those barefooted journeys through the snow might not have added some character—a contribution hardly appreciated at the time. Such journeys are rarely taken now, even in much of the hinterland, because of septic tanks and community water and sewer systems, makers of rural progress.

I say these things because, while it is irrational to oppose "rural development," it is also irrational to pursue development blindly without recognizing the cultural costs that development can impose. Thus, I grieve little over evidence that effective planning for rural development (by effective planning I mean planning followed by implemen-

tation) is a highly improbable occurrence. A discussion of that evidence, and of a few handicaps which planners face, makes up the bulk of this address.

Within the American Heritage, planning is the object of an interesting kind of schizophrenic behavior. Formal planning is alternately embraced and condemned, sought out and rejected, nurtured and stifled—by different groups at the same time—by the same group at different times. The one side of our national personality craves more planning. We are, after all, a country whose psyche is preoccupied with problems—crimes, pollution, poverty, urban sprawl, urban decay, oil spills, housing shortages, unemployment, inflation, high interest rates. A number of these major problems, most recognize, follow from past decisions which were totally devoid of any rational or systematic forethought—devoid of planning. "Could we not have escaped this unfortunate mess," one asks, "if our forebears had just done some elementary planning?"

Some of our appetite for planning grows out of a human preference for certainty over uncertainty, for predictability over ignorance of what is to come. As a society, we have always embraced the idea that we can control our collective destiny—collective planning is a manifestation of that idea.

But working against this motif there is a great and imponderable counterbalance. For of all the great nations in history, there has existed none whose ethic is less hospitable to planning than the American ethic. If one were to consciously design and impose an order of political, social, and economic institutions which would confound effective planning, one could not do much better than the system within which we work now. Effective planning is a unitary process—it presupposes an ability to bring together diverse but related elements into a single, internally consistent whole which is driven by a common set of objectives. Our socio-political heritage, however, is saturated with pluralism. The multiple dimensions of our life style are paralleled by a multiplicity of organizations. Each of us belongs to a variety of groups—our loyalties are crosshatched, and our political energies are diffused in many different ways. This fact moderates the pace of social evolution—there are few true believers among us—and safeguards the status quo.

Pluralism carries across into our structure of governments. We have deliberately disorganized general-purpose government into three levels—each level disconnected from the others. On top of these, we have slapped a haphazard collection of separate special purpose governments. In 1972, according to the "Census of Governments," we were supporting 23,885 of these. The sheer number provides a De Facto array of checks and balances which ensures an appropriate level of paralysis; that is, governments tend to stumble over each other so as to partially neutralize what otherwise might become an enormous threat to our individual freedoms. All of this contributes to the high incidence of neurosis among public planners. It also means that planning is not a very prolific source of social change.

It does not follow, of course, that the system is "bad" or that it is deficient. There would be enormous costs associated with conversion to a social order which better accommodates effective planning. To

emphasize this, let me suggest that one such order is typified by the military. The military structure, which is unitary, hierarchical, and preemptive of organizational loyalties, is a structure we reserve for national crises, and which we have very religiously, and wisely, I think, tried to contain as an aberration from the political norm.

Against this rather abstract background, consider effective planning for rural development as a problem for one of our many governments. Implicitly I refer to state government, although I hope these thoughts are more generally valid. Two significant limitations must be recognized here, and each grows out of the nature of the development process. Preoccupation with development, whether it be community, urban, rural, or economic, has created an issue fundamentally different from those government has dealt with before. It is a quantum leap from the recitation that government exists to preserve order, provide for the national defense, and furnish public goods and services to the claim that government should assure that "development" occurs. Such development, defined in any reasonable way, is not water and sewer or hardsurfaced highways. It is not industrial parks or "spec" buildings. It is not manpower programs or better health departments. It is all of these improvements and more, operative simultaneously in some appropriate proportion, supported by private sector institutions and the general public in a kind of mystical blend which leads to positive, self-sustaining levels of local investment in human, social, and physical capital. The exact formula for this process has not, of course, been found, but if it existed, rest assured that government activity would account for only a fraction of the variables in the set of equations, perhaps not even a major fraction. In our society there exists no unitary organization which spans the dimensions of rural development. To ask government to plan rural development, then, is to ask the impossible—it is only possible to plan the activities of government which influence that process. This, I submit, is a limitation of general importance. Greater appreciation of its meaning would have aborted many of the plans which now clutter my library.

But the issue of rural development presents a second limitation, indirectly related to the first, perhaps even more important, government's ability to respond to public needs in a planned and orderly way is dependent upon the manner in which it is organized. Like it or not, organization, logically precedes planning, and planning which denies this reality is almost never effective. We are organized to deal with problems of transportation, with problems of natural resource management, with problems of crime control. Within each of these categories, most state governments have begun to establish a strong planning process. This advance represents significant progress, and its potential impact upon the quality of government is very encouraging. But to borrow some phrases, you can organize for some of the problems all of the time—for all of the problems some of the time—but not for all of the problems all of the time. And the fact is, we are not now organized to deal with the comprehensive process of rural development. This is true because state government is not a unitary, comprehensive organization. It is rather more like a confederation of loosely connected but largely autonomous sub-groups. Coalition by these subgroups around a central plan of action is not, to be sure, unheard of,

the phenomenon nearly always materializes, for example, in instances of natural disaster. A flood or a hurricane provokes a truly integrated response. But this is not the normal mode of operation among state, federal, or even local governments, and a "comprehensive" plan which counters the grain of the conventional organization structure almost always dies for want of implementation.

What is the solution? Well, one might argue for a more unitary government, with a strong Chief Executive. But North Carolina's Governor has the most diminutive formal power of any Governor in this nation, and if I read the newspaper correctly, there is a substantial body of opinion within the legislature to the effect that even that meager authority is too great. And I daresay that even in states with so-called "strong" Governors, nothing very dramatic has occurred on the frontiers of rural development.

Another approach, commonly used, is to solicit voluntary cooperation among the departments by appeal to logic, patriotism, or a sense of responsibility. The usual form is an "Interagency Task Force," and I have observed more of them in operation than I care to discuss.

The USDA, for example, has used this approach to try to force cohesion among agencies of its own department. Rural areas development committees, or RAD committees, Technical Action Panels, or TAPs, Resource Conservation and Development committees, or RC & Ds: These are attempts at comprehensive action within a single agency of the federal government. Their performance has been checkered at best.

On a broader scale, several federal departments are assembled at a sub-national level under the label of the Federal Regional Councils. Their record is a slightly qualified failure.

Within state government, Interagency Task Forces commonly degenerate into a waste of time. The usual cycle is a flurry of initial activity, followed by a decline of interest as lower level subordinates begin to attend meetings to which their superiors initially committed themselves, followed by a long silence unbroken to avoid embarrassment. This approach, I am saying, almost never works.

A third approach passes the buck to local governments which have organized in the form of councils or other regional organizations. The theory is that these local governments, closer as they surely are to the development problems, should come up with a "comprehensive" strategy to which state government can respond. Personally, I am an avid supporter of regional organizations, and there is no doubt in my mind that their contribution to better government is well worth the investment of time and energy they represent. But the theory that they will fill the comprehensive planning vacuum is, I believe, based upon false premises. It is even further removed from organizational truth than the notion of interagency committees.

I suppose this is all very discouraging, at least when viewed from the perspective of planning for rural development. But we all operate under a conclusion drawn by Kenneth Boulding, the University of Colorado Economist and social critic of some renown. "Planning is probably most useful in organizations with rather simple objectives such as making money. The only thing that prevents planning from being disastrous in government is that it is not usually believed, governments being multi-purpose, multi-objective organizations."

Boulding is not completely correct in this assessment, but at the present state of the public administration art, he is more right than he is wrong. Fortunately, this does not mean that rural areas will not develop. On the contrary, we may see a great deal of rural development in North Carolina over the next several decades. Components of it will be planned, but will not be planned in the comprehensive fashion that label "rural development" suggests.

The May, 1971, Issue of Transaction contains a short comment of Matthew Dumont, who at the time of that writing was Assistant Commissioner for Drug Rehabilitation in the States of Massachusetts. His insights are classic, and should I ever hit upon a style in which to cast my own feelings about state government so successfully, I will retire forthwith. About the management of state government, he says:

> The image one must keep in mind is of a pool table with one pocket and several dozen balls. Each time a ball is sunk some bundle of resources connects with some reservoir of human needs. Rather than trying to be more precise and systematic about aiming balls at the pocket, one in fact heightens the likelihood of sinking one by increasing the number of players shooting at a greater number of balls at the same time in different directions.
>
> A state program with more balls is a felicitous thought.

REGIONALISM: AN ANSWER FOR PLANNING OF RURAL AREAS

INTRODUCTION AND SUMMARY

(By Robert Shepherd, Land of Sky Regional Council, Asheville, N.C.)

Regionalism can be defined as "cooperation among local communities to achieve jointly things which cannot be achieved separately." Generally, problems of pollution abatement, transportation, land use, and economic development, among others, require intergovernmental action. Regional councils are simply a mechanism for enhancing intergovernmental cooperation.

North Carolina's experience in regionalism began in 1969 when an act of the legislature gave the responsibility for leadership of regional programs to the N. C. Department of Administration. In 1970, Governor Robert Scott established a system of uniform regional boundaries for the present 17 regions. In 1971, Governor Scott published a statewide development policy, which involved the concept of an "umbrella" regional organization to be termed a Lead Regional Organization for each of the 17 regions. There were certain requirements for achievement of the LRO designation, basically indicating the capability of the organization to undertake an active planning program and intergovernmental leadership program for the region to be served. When the advent of the Holshouser administration—the first Republican administration in approximately 50 years—further steps have been taken to strengthen the Lead Regional Organization concept. In May of 1974, the Governor created a new Office of Intergovernmental Relations to be a clearinghouse for regional issues and to assist the regions in meeting the needs of their areas. About the same time, he offered the LRO boards the policy responsibility for five federally-funded human service programs—manpower, aging, child development, family planning and nutrition. In July, he issued several policy guidelines indicating areas to be emphasized for the balance of his administration. One of these policy guidelines concerned the LRO's and indicated strong support for the concept of the "umbrella" multi-jurisdictional planning and development organization.

While some of these initiatives of the past five years have been controversial and have led to concerns about encroachment on the powers of local governments, there are groups such as the Regional Forum which is jointly appointed by the N. C. Association of County Commissioners and the N. C. League of Municipalities and is composed of nine elected officials, the majority of whom are actively involved in their regional councils. Their meetings are held jointly with the LRO directors, and many new initiatives are referred to them so that their impact on local powers and regional problem solving may be obtained. While the LRO is a relatively new thing, it generally is gaining acceptance by elected officials and citizens in the state.

REGIONAL CENTRALIZATION VERSUS A CENTERLESS REGION

(By Alan P. Magan, Virginia Polytechnic Institute and Southern University, Blacksburg, Va.)

Introduction

Modern urban society is more and more a suburban society, characterized by extensive growth and a centrifugal tendency. With such an obvious trend it may seem out of step to decry the dominance of the center or core of the region. However, the formless spread of urbanization into the countryside, leading to a diffused metropolis, megalopolis, conurbation, or urban field, is still centered on the core.

Regional planning, as practiced today in the USA, tries to resolve the inherent tension between the center and the suburbs but fails miserably. A fundamental problem is the failure to distinguish between metropolitan and regional planning. True regional planning means a wider scale of planning and action. I propose in this paper that regional planners consider the whole region as both resource area and living space. Regional policy should be to minimize the dominance of the center and foster communities in a centerless, polynucleated region. Not only will this put an end to the core-periphery conflict, but offer new living space in a balanced and integrated regional form.

Centralization

A great number of theories purport to explain why human activities tend to centralize or agglomerate in space. As Douglas North has pointed out, in the USA regions and regional centers developed around an exportable raw material or commodity.[1] For example, San Francisco and Seattle grew up around good ports handling the valuable gold and lumber of the hinterland. As the cities grew in population and diversity, industries and services developed to serve the region. Even today most large cities still have the imprint and reputation from the original "staple" which served as the economic base for the region.

When a region begins to prosper, whether through an economic base of agriculture, forestry, fisheries, or mining, the next stage of development is industrial and service growth to serve the primary or extractive sector. With few exceptions these activities agglomerate in one or several cities in the region. The introduction of the motor truck and construction of a network of roads and highways extended the space economy throughout the region. The resultant suburbanization of economic activities diminished the importance of the core city but it still

[1] Douglas North, "Location Theory and Regional Economic Growth," in Friedman and Alonso, "Regional Development and Planning" (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1964), pp. 240–245.

remained paramount, the sun with smaller satellites or, more accurately, a strong magnet in an urban field.

Raymond Vernon noted the great appeal of suburban location in terms of wages, taxes, transport cost and rent but still the core city remained paramount for three main reasons: 1) the communication factor, 2) the costs of uncertainty, and 3) external economies of scale.[2] First, many activities depend on face-to-face communication usually on a regular and frequent basis with supplies, customers, lawyers, bankers, and so on. Second, any small or moderate-sized business is usually located without an in-depth study and the owner(s) rely on the success (or failure) of a competitor to determine a cost-minimizing and profit-maximizing location. Third, the success or failure of an activity depends on a wide range of factors which vary depending on the nature of the activity. But attractive features of a central-city location are external economies including localization and urbanization economies. These are the linkages between and among similar activities (e.g., two or more garment factories sharing a common wholesaling supplier or customer), and the linkages all activities have with the whole urban environment including a large labor pool, market, and urban infrastructure.

Aside from businesses, the central city is the location of corporate headquarters, financial institutions, government offices, and hospitals.[3] The rationale for these locational decisions is less easy to identify. Vernon suggests that face-to-face communication and speed of access to extremely specialized business services are again important factors. In a changing, risky, and uncertain economy, the central-city location for the corporation is more important. Quick changes in investment profitability, fashion or style means quick decisions at the top with the aid of computers.[4]

Suburbanization

The central city gained in population until 1920 and has steadily lost population and no doubt the trend will continue. The suburbanization process starter with wealthy families seeking escape from city congestion, lack of amenity, high taxes and rents, and seeking privacy, exclusivity, fresh air, and so on. At first only factories with a large-scale production process moved out since they could make do on internal economies of scale instead of sharing services and suppliers with a number of nearby competitors. The rise of large-scale corporations and large-scale factories, gave the corporation a wide choice of location. As the cost of materials and transport declined and became fairly constant throughout the country, businessmen looked to wages, a skilled labor pool, local taxes, and the local attitudes toward business as the most important factors.[5]

Suburban governments began to realize after growing mainly as residential compounds for the middle class that a strong local economy demanded an economic base, so Chambers of Commerce and industrial authorities began to woo industry and shopping center developers with

[2] David Birch, "The Economic Future of City and Suburb," in Birch's "The Economic Future of City and Suburb" (New York: Harper & Row, 1966), p. 3. Raymond Vernon, "The Changing Economic Function of the City," in Joseph Haring (ed.) "Urban and Regional Economics."
[3] Birch, p. 5.
[4] Raymond Vernon, "Metropolis 1985" (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1960), pp. 47–49.
[5] ACIR, "Urban and Rural America" (Washington, D.C.: ACIR, 1968), p. 44.

a multitude of attractions. Not surprisingly the result of competition for the industrial tax base and job openings means cut-throat tax cutting, abatements, and industrial park development leading to an irrational and demoralized region. Looked at from the national level, "right-to-work" legislation, the lack of unions, and lack of environmental safeguards in Southern States has led to a migration of industry from the North to the South. The end result is an irrational and dysfunctional allocation of resources. No local government wants to repulse industry or commercial centers so strict ordinances are rarely formulated. The same line of thinking permeates regional, state and federal thinking in our laissez-faire economy.

The central issue here is equity. First, in our present situation blacks are discriminated against in education, housing, and employment, and relegated to the decaying central cities. Second, the suburban middle-class migration has meant that commuting takes usually two hours a day, and the very benefits of suburban life (escape, privacy, access to a healthy environment) have been ruined by a lack of planning. Third, city, regional, and national class and policies tend to reinforce the existing inequities.

Core versus periphery

The dichotomy between core and periphery can refer to a nation or region. John Friedmann put forth a theory of polarized development in his *Urbanization, Planning, and National Development* using the core-periphery model but referring mainly to national development. I think this theory is applicable and useful in analyzing a region as well. In the latter case the core would be the central city and the periphery the suburbs and exurbs. This is stretching Friedmann's theory since he has also described developed American regions as urban fields, meaning an integrated space economy. He has written:

> * * * that within each urban field substantial centrifugal forces will propel the settlement of population and the location of activities from existing metropolitan centers into the present periphery * * * It has space, it has scenery, and it contains communities that preserve a measure of historical integrity and interest.[6]

Suburbanization is no longer confined to rings of bedroom communities and the attraction of the core is less, but the power and control of the center is still strong. To quote again from Friedmann:

> An adequate structure of the space economy, viewed as a pattern of systemic relations, must be regarded as an overriding consideration in spatial planning. Although individual investment projects may be located in an optimal way from the standpoint of their profitability, the whole system of spatial relations may yet fail to function effectively. As long as the economy is focalized upon a single, dominant center, the economic calculus for investments will repeatedly suggest central locations.[7]

A spatial organization focused upon a center will never achieve an integrated space economy; neither will our laissez-faire economy achieve balance nor equity. The present trend is toward maintenance of a prestigious CBD, acceptance of central-city slums, and encouragement of formless, environmental-degrading urban fields.

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[6] John Friedman, "The Urban Fields," "Journal of the American Institute of Planners," November 1965, pp. 315–316.

[7] John Friedmann, "Regional Development Policy" (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1966), p. 55.

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To get back to the core-periphery dichotomy, a seminal insight of Gunnar Myrdal's sums up the tendency toward regional hierarchies and hegemonies.

> The main idea I want to convey is that the play of the forces in the market normally tends to increase the inequalities between regions. If things were left to the market unhampered by any policy interferences (major activities) would cluster in certain localities and regions, leaving the rest of the country more or less in a backwater.[8]

Despite the spread of residences and industries in vast conurbations along the ocean and the Great Lakes, the core, according to Friedman, consolidates its dominance over the periphery through 1) a net transfer of natural, human, and capital resources to the center; 2) the creation of a climate favorable to innovation and imitation; 3) multiplier or linkage effects; and 4) the exploitation of a monopoly position and the core's social overhead and infrastructure.[9] The periphery then, theoretically, benefits from the growth of the core through "backwash" or "trickle-down" effects. But the tension inherent in this situation produces "conflict with the core region's authorities over the extent of permissible autonomy." [10]

The end result, it might be argued, of core dominance is preferable to other forms because it is highly efficient, rational and necessary for a high rate of growth. In order to make a judgment it will first be necessary to determine the relevant factors, total impact, and costs and benefits of core dominance.

Regional planning

The flight to the suburbs has now become an escape to the exurbs. The seemingly insoluble problems of the city have influenced families to seek security and a pleasant environment at some distance, usually within a two-hour commuting distance from their jobs. They want to escape the crime, pollution, high taxes, and poor schools and services of the city.

None of these suburban communities are self-sufficient. Most are bedroom communities with jobs located inside the city though increasingly, business is accepted and even encouraged. The suburban residents have found that services such as sewer and water, solid waste disposal, transportation and recreation are regional problems requiring regional solutions. Also, such pressing problems as air and water pollution cannot be adequately dealt with on the local level. Concurrently city residents suffer from a decreasing tax base, an underutilized sewerage and water system, a decaying housing stock, and a lack of access to many new jobs, adequate recreation areas, and modern schools. The obvious, rational answer is to joint the region's cities, towns, and villages in a regional forum or government to handle regional problems. Councils of governments have sprung up around the country to handle the situation. Since federal money is often needed to finance regional projects, the A–95 review process, a regional responsibility, can be a crucial control and unifying factor. However, the results have not been heartening. In core-dominated regions, the non-core communities are loathe to cooperate on an "equal" basis, afraid of losing

[8] Gunnar Myrdal, "Rich Lands and Poor Lands" (New York: Harper & Bros., 1975), p. 26.
[9] John Friedmann, "Urbanization, Planning, and National Development" (Beverly Hills, Calif.: Sage, 1973), p. 52.
[10] Ibid., p. 57.

their autonomy and present local control, especially land use control. Judging from the history of annexations in this country, these fears are justified, so the end result is a cul-de-sac.

Centerless region

I submit that we should work toward the long-range goal of a centerless, polynucleated regional form. This means to minimize the importance of the core, loose-up the metropolitan area, and articulate the region's communities with open space and parks. Mobility and communication would substitute for location, and work and home would be closer together though incompatible land uses would not be jumbled up as now often occurs. Clusters of industries would be spaced between communities to preserve environmental amenities and to enable the industries to realize economies through linkages. Each region or subregion should also have a recycling center to reclaim resources which would be recycled through the economy.

The policy might best be described as a dispersal of population into environmentally-tailored communities, well-rounded for maximum self-realization and actualization, yet functionally specific through a strategy of apportioned distribution of economic activities. A guiding principle would be that the lower levels, communities and neighborhoods, perform as many functions at that level as possible and cooperate and federate to handle high-order functions. In this way any community might be the center of the region depending on the function.

Opportunities for recreation and socializing would be ubiquitous, many cultural activities could be made mobile, and a good system of two and four-lane roads (without blighting and traffic-snarling strip development) would offer quick access to other communities. Basically the policy would, to paraphrase E. A. Gutkind, mean the twilight of cities and the rise of communities. He has written a terse description of regional integration which flies in the face of current city, metropolitan, and regional planning: (1) Planning from the top and bottom at the same time. (2) Organic growth from within. (3) Unity of rural and urban districts in the cultural, social, and economic sphere. (4) Interregional balance of internally homogeneous regions. And compactness and openness of settlement, order and flexibility, differentiation and homogeneity, privacy and social intercourse.[11]

A regional strategy calling for a centerless region might best be analyzed and evaluated using three basic criteria: efficiency, equity, and environmental impact. After a review of the economic arguments for centralization, such a strategy of "centerlessness" seems absurd and highly inefficient. However, the angle of view must be widened to gain the complete picture. The appeal of a CBD or suburban location is quite high with increasing preference for the latter. The logic behind this choice rests on the benefits accrued from the externalities of urban areas. If the region's activities were distributed throughout many communities instead of heaped in a small area, few of the benefits of a more central location would be lost and new and different benefits would be derived.

[11] E. A. Gutkind, "Twilight of Cities" (New York: The Free Press, 1963), pp. 169, 199.

The criterion of private business is profitability. This criterion is logical and rational from the investors point of view. The profitability of a business, though, is determined through a narrow and slanted method of cost accounting. The social costs of private initiative are the external economies of business. The vast sums of public money spent on the infrastructure, the large labor pool capable of "sustaining" periodic layoffs and underemployment, the large market of malleable consumers, and the unenforced or non-existent pollution laws all comprise the nexus of our current social problems. Private capital dictates not only the form of regional growth but, in fact, dictates the whole social framework. In simpler terms, private profits greatly overstate the achievement of private initiative.

In a comprehensive and humanistic regional accounting system, the criteria of efficiency, equity, and environmental impact must be combined to assess any spatial allocation of activities. The congestion and pollution of the core is borne by the public at large. Open space, fresh air, or safety become commodities to be purchased within a tolerable commuting distance. In trying to escape the problems of a city the individual acts as a consumer, and in appropriating a niche in the suburbs, he or she imposes a cost on the public to accommodate extensive growth. The overall result is increasing costs for the public sector to pay for diseconomies of individual choice. In addition to these costs, the public also provides those collective needs which are non-profitable, e.g., education, cultural activities, public health, public transportation, or planning. The end result is private wealth but public squalor.[12]

To avoid this dilemma a rational regional policy demands the judicious allocation of activities to achieve a profitable return on investment in the private and public sectors (which, in the case of the private sector, should be shared with the local community to cover the true costs imposed on the public) and a minimum of social costs. In other words, profitability would be one criterion but not the most important. The so-called "logic of production" must be made subservient to human needs. Subsidies, especially in the short run, will be necessary to achieve a balance of efficiency and social concern, but any intervention will be taken only after a comprehensive regional analysis.

Economic activities should be apportioned to a community or set of communities with a solid understanding of the linkages necessary for a particular function. Clusters would be necessary, as would excellent communication and transportation. Wilbur Thompson realized this possibility years ago.

> While the remote small one-industry town would seem to be highly vulnerable, even obsolete, in a country which has achieved an advanced stage of economic development, an interesting and perhaps high significant exception may exist. A number of small and medium size urban areas, connected by good highways and/or other transportation facilities may form a loose network of interrelated labor markets . . . This federated local economy may achieve the minimum size necessary to activate the urban size ratchet effect mentioned above, preserving the collective existence of these smaller places.[13]

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[12] Andre Gorz, "Strategy for Labor" (Boston: Beacon, 1967), pp. 82–90.

[13] Wilbur Thompson, *A Preface to Urban Economics* (Washington, D.C.: Resources for the Future, 1965), p. 34.

An important and valid criticism might be laid to a centerless region policy that this violates central place theory. A group of limited-size communities would need to share at least some higher-order functions which would best be located in the center to minimize travel costs. Obviously a concession of this sort would ultimately lead to a regional center and established hegemony. The central issue is, again, how to balance social needs which would best be served in a dispersed, centerless form with a more efficient allocation. The issue must be settled on higher ground because the problem is essentially metaphysical.

A balanced, well-rounded community would preserve human and environmental values. Autonomy and interdependence would be alternating, complementary concepts. Decisions would be made at the local level and in tiered assemblies reaching to the national level. This is planning from the top and bottom at the same time.

In the end, no spatial form makes any sense until it is related to and identified with local, regional, and national goals and values.

REGIONALISM IN THE SOUTH: THE NEED FOR A NEW MOVEMENT

(By Clarence Wright, Housing Assistance Council, Atlanta, Ga.)

INTRODUCTION

"As you consider the future delivery of services to poor people, I hope that you are paying close attention to the increasing role and authority of sub-state districts, often called Area Planning and Development Districts. Their importance in implementing New Federalism concepts and direction cannot be stressed too greatly. Enacted and proposed legislation—CETA, Older Americans Act, and every new initiative will, directly or indirectly tie into Sub-State Districts and Organizations . . . Many of you are aware that one negative side effect to the development of regional bodies is the dilution of newly acquired political power. If minority interests are not properly represented on them, these area bodies will not be the mechanisms they must become . . ." (from a speech by William Sonny Walker, Southeastern Regional Director, OEO, to a 1974 National Urban League conference on budget priorities.)

"The names used to describe elements of this revolution are immaterial. They change like a chameleon's colors. Regional government is also called regional authority. It is also termed Metropolitan Government or Metro . . . Regional government could be called technocracy. Technocracy is government by an elite. Metro is government by experts. These are one and the same. Autocracy is a form of government where the same officials make the laws, administer and enforce them . . . The balance of powers of our American system was carefully designed to separate the administrative, legislative and judicial departments so that each may be a check on the other . . . None of these (direct sovereignity or through elected representatives) is possible under regional government for the officials are appointed and not answerable to the people . . ." (from testimony by K. Maureen Heaton, Placerville, California, at hearing on substate regionalism sponsored by the Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Relations, San Francisco, 1973.)

In recent years a new maze of appointive substate regional bodies has developed throughout the South. Generally initiated through the impetus of various federal funding, these bodies were started as agencies to facilitate multi-jurisdictional planning and to supply technical expertise to rural and small town governments. These bodies have few if any minority people on their boards or staff and have come to wield life or death power over most federal money coming into local communities. The result, whether intended or not, has been to dilute the newly gained power of minority elected officials and to

threaten the survival of community organizations controlled by poor people. The most visible negative impact of the substate regional council governmental movement can be seen in the rural South. Regional structures add layers of complexity and non-accountability to the other problems inherent in the New Federalism thrust to revenue sharing and states' rights.

Today there are approximately 1800 federally encouraged districts at the substate level in 19 different program areas. Over 600 of these bodies are councils of government with state legislative mandates for control by appointed city and county representatives. Throughout the country, the various substate regional networks have been drawn together under the Bureau of the Budget A–95 Clearinghouse designation and the ongoing funding from the HUD 701 Comprehensive Planning Program. All of the southern states are presently organized into statewide substate regional systems.

Revenue sharing and regionalism are the two most significant changes in the federal system in recent years, at least since the passage of the civil rights, voting rights and "War on Poverty" legislation. Revenue sharing has generated the type of response and reaction from civil and human rights organizations which are consistent with its negative implications for black and poor people.

Regionalism is a movement of governmental reform and reorganization which has occurred with little fanfare and literally no input or involvement of black people and poor people, other minorities, public interest/advocacy groups or organizations. These bodies have been organized out of a systematic "carrot and stick" approach to reorganization by the federal government over the past twenty years with funds for planning, coordination, and evaluation of community development programs as the "carrot" while governmental requirements for functional regional programs has served as the "stick." The growth of substate regional bodies has been phenomenal in recent years.

At present there is no comprehensive picture of the movement toward substate regionalism and its implications for blacks, other minorities, and poor people in the South. Substate regional bodies have been formed in different states and even portions of states by legislative fiat, executive order and/or combinations of both but not by the will of the people. These bodies have been called by different names in the respective states and subsections of a given state depending on the source of funding. Regardless of the names of these bodies, whether they are area planning and development districts, councils of government, regional planning commissions, local development districts, economic development districts or whatever, they are operated on the premise that the "movers and shakers" in a given community are the elected officials and established business and civic interest groups. Consequently, elected officials predominate on these boards. The elected officials, however, are appointed not elected to these boards which have outstriped their initial planning function.

In the remainder of this presentation I will attempt to treat in very brief and summary fashion the scope and powers of regional bodies and issues related to regionalism and minority/poor communities. I would like to conclude the introductory section with fourteen

questions which I have presented to minority and low income groups for consideration as they contemplated the whole thrust to regionalism and what it meant for them. As planners, regional policy makers, and others centrally involved in the existing substate intergovernmental structure, I would like to pose them for your consideration and reflection in terms of your accountability to the people:

1. What is regionalism? Its purpose structure, origin, organization, etc., have community people been informed of the existence of regional bodies?

2. How is the Black (minority and low income) community represented through this form of government? Is it in elected positions or appointed positions?

3. What body of people have decision-making powers and what impact will this have on the Black community?

4. What are the political, economic and social implications on the Black community?

5. How do the basic human service areas, i.e., health, child development, economic development, multi-planning land use, and social planning relate to regionalism in terms of structure, accountability and finance?

6. What will be the future of local, state and federal administration under regionalism?

7. Are community folk familiar with the dimensions or regionalism?

8. Does regionalism as a way of organizing government hinder the development of black political power? How? How can problems which exist be solved?

9. Who defines the economic and social problems under regionalism?

10. How does community control fit into regionalism in terms of action and community operations?

11. What is the role of the Appalachian Regional Commission in relationship to regionalism?

12. How is the concept of regionalism different from present city, state and federal operations?

13. How can strategies that maximize community energy be developed under regionalism?

14. Does regionalism allow for confrontation and transformation in the Black community?

Although my questions are basically reflective of the implications of regionalism for black people, the same negative implications exist for other minorities, and low income citizens in general. Specifically because of the tremendous lack of community education and involvement in the organization and development of the substate regional bodies and the lack of accountability of decision-makers on substate regional boards via the vote, substate regionalism could well represent a threat to the rights of all people who do not happen to be on the board or favored by the substate bodies.

The powers of substate bodies

Based on my experiences in working with the local development districts in Appalachia, the council of governments in Alabama, and the area planning and development districts in Georgia, there are eleven areas of impact (power) which regional bodies exert with no

accountability upon non-participating communities and community organizations. The powers are as follows:

1. All Federal and State programs must serve areas co-terminous with those of the Regional Council. This is a point of grave concern for OEO programs in Mississippi, and Southwest Virginia, and a likely concern in most states.

2. Most Federal programs have co-terminous boundaries with those of the Regional Council. For instance, the boundaries of the LDD, the Economic Development District, the Bureau of the Budget A–95 review districts, and many regional health programs are co-terminous or in the process of reorganization by Executive Order.

3. The Regional Councils through their A–95 Review powers have to sign-off on all federal funds coming into that particular region.

4. The Regional Councils have specific authority under their planning responsibilities to review if not guide the development of program proposals.

5. The Regional Councils have the authority to implement and/or sub-contract a given program. A prime example is the LDD role in the ARC Child Care Demonstration.

6. In addition to co-terminous boundaries for all federal program districts, the specific authority given to the respective decision-making boards for a given federal program (i.e. Economic Development, ARC, etc.) are vested in the Local District Board. Therefore, the same body serves each program, but the guidelines of the respective programs are not uniform. A given program's guidelines are applied to any activity within their mandated sphere.

7. Regional Councils have the authority to plan, implement and evaluate. No outside evaluation is required.

8. Regional Councils have the authority to have closed meetings. They are not required to announce their meetings.

9. The Regional Councils have the responsibility for the local administration of most programs under the recently passed Rural Development Act.

10. The Regional Councils, (in cooperation with a given state legislature) have the power to gerrymander their boundaries. Note the map of the ARC Local Development Districts and their relationship to many of the larger cities. Prime examples are, Montgomery, Alabama as opposed to Roanoke, Virginia. The region goes up and around Montgomery and Roanoke!

11. The Regional Councils, in many instances, have the authority to plan, review, evaluate, and implement a given program. Even more alarming, they have the authority to set the standards for employment for a given program.

In addition to these broad areas of impact, substate regional bodies control no less than 19 different sources of federal community development funding. This abnormal amount of power and control should not be placed with a body which is not directly accountable to the people via the vote.

Regionalism and related issues

Regionalism, particularly substate regionalism, has a direct bearing upon a number of issues. These issues are of direct import to organizations, minority communities, and low income residents throughout the

South. Summarily, the issues are regionalism and community control; regionalism and the vote; regionalism and representation; regionalism and OEO; regionalism and social services; regionalism and rural development; regionalism and A-95 Comprehensive Planning; regionalism and revenue sharing.

Regionalism and community control

Under the existing structure of regional councils, it is not likely that grassroots organizations clearly identified with the poor will be able to "initiate" contact and call upon regional councils as a resource. The very history of the councils were geared toward involvement of the establishment "movers and shakers." Experiences, particularly in Kentucky, have shown that the strategy of regional councils will be to handpick representatives who have no base or have a base which can be directly impacted upon by the regional council. (Refer for example, to James Sundquist "Making Federalism Work").

Regionalism and the vote

The major thrust in the Seventies has been toward the solidification of institutional change via the vote and electing black politicians and sympathetic whites to office. The Joint Center on Political Studies has shown that most black elected officials did not have a firm position on regionalism. According to their survey, the "little consensus" discerned was positive. This conclusion is in part feasible when one views the question of metropolitan government and the need to increase center city revenue. However, it has been my experience, that in the South, particularly in rural and small towns, counties, and communities, regionalism should be fought.

Alabama, the cradle of the Confederacy, amplifies my point. Alabama has one of the highest percentages of Black elected officials. Yet in a telephone survey done the summer of 1974, only three elected officials out of 12 contacted even know about the Regional Councils! Other experiences have shown that of the five (5) predominantly Black towns in North Alabama, none had representatives on the regional councils.

In the event that representation is granted, it is not likely that Blacks will have meaningful input particularly on the Executive Committee and in view of the basically conservative, White, middle-class staff profiles. The Alabama Tombigbee District in Alabama is made of counties with the smallest percentage of Blacks at 19.6%. Yet there are no Blacks on the Board. Even if there were, Blacks would be outvoted, since the councils presently operate on the "one man, one vote" principle.

This principle, however, has no relationship to the various state reapportionments because the regional council boundaries are generally not co-terminous with the various electoral districts. Thus, elected officials beyond the local level often have different political and regional constituencies.

Regionalism and representation

It is commonly assumed that the guidelines for representation are fairly well established. Yet, the Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Relations, the National Service to Regional Councils, and other involved organizations will speak to the issue of minority and

poor representation. Unfortuniately, the folk speaking to the issue are not the people directly affected. Residents and representatives of community groups can be appointed to the Boards. This is particularly true in situations in which the regional councils are receiving different types of federal funding each of which have different requirements for representation. This situation was confronted in Mississippi in which the Golden Triangle Regional Council was willing to fund a particular project if the people would agree to their Board selections under EDD regulations. In order to document discrimination, community groups must demand representatives selected from legally incorporated, credible organizations and institutions.

Regionalism and OEO

At one time, regional councils selected minority and poor representatives from the Community Action Program structure. However, with the cut-back in OEO and the demise of Model Cities, representation from these bodies is no longer a viable alternative. Under A–95, the regional council signs off on OEO grants in addition to the fact that many CAPs are now vying for the role of outreach or services delivery arms of the APDCs. (See for example, Gary English, CAPs, ADDs, and Rural Counties.)

Regionalism and social services

Various charts have already pointed up those social services programs to be coordinated through the regional councils. Furthermore, it is now being proposed that regional councils particularly in rural areas become UMJOs (Umbrella Multi-Jurisdictional Organizations). (See David Walker and Bruce McDowell, "Is Regional Planning Coming of Age?") In the Central Macon District in Georgia, senior citizens programs, youth development programs and comprehensive health programs are being operated by the regional council.

Regionalism and rural development

In 1967, the President's National Advisory Council on Rural Poverty in the report "The People Left Behind" recommended creation of multi-county districts to plan and coordinate economic development. Additional reports further supported this. The recently passed Rural Development Act calls for direct sign-off for all rural development proposals by the regional council. (See HAC Information, April 9, 1973) Under the Rural Development Act, there are no provisions or requirements for minority representation.

Regionalism and A–95 Comprehensive Planning

I hereby note these issues again. Successful involvement of residents is dependent upon the philosophy, training and experience of the planners. They tend to be young, White, inexperienced and middle-class. There are only eight schools which have programs to train community development specialists and planners. (See Biddle & Biddle, "The Community Development Process: The Rediscovery of Local Initiative") Also, most Black planners continue to study and seek professional placement in urban planning. Under A–95, the paradox is that the same planners who develop the comprehensive plans are responsible for sign-offs under A–95, since this is a staff function.

Regionalism and revenue sharing

It is my contention that regionalism is the new system of revenue sharing. If revenue sharing survives, technical assistance and long range planning and cost benefit evaluation will be a must. In rural America the regional councils have this expertise. (See Guy Beneviste, "The Politics of Expertise")

Conclusion

At present there is no comprehensive picture of the movement towards multistate and substate regionalism and its implications for Black and poor people. Contrary to the accepted statements from the more established agencies involved in regional planning and development, regional bodies, with the advent of A–95, have become a major threat to social reform and human resources development efforts. Most of the major Federal legislation calls for the integral involvement of substate areawide planning and development districts in decision-making and in many cases, program operation. Under A–95, regional planning bodies already have the power to "reject" proposals which are not consistent with "comprehensive" plans for a multi-county area, plans which substate planning bodies develop.

Regionalism is a movement of governmental reform and reorganization which has occurred with little fanfare and literally no input or involvement of Black people and poor involvement by Blacks in all aspects of the political process which has been the natural result of Whites leaving the central city. The racial character of the migration and population patterns in most metropolitan urban areas has created a situation where the Black position on metropolitan regionalism is quite different from what it might have been two or three decades ago. There is a great need for the development of a comprehensive analysis and strategy of what regionalism, particularly substate regionalism, means for Black and poor people. From a large, urban, metropolitan focus, regionalism could well be the avenue to an increased tax base and could open other avenues to additional suburban human and fiscal resources. On the other hand, those groups and organizations in predominantly rural areas in which Blacks under regional government constitute a less powerful political force, Black and poor people stand to lose almost all semblances of political strength. With the present thrust of the Federal government towards comprehensive planning, coordinated budgeting and planning, national land use and growth policies and rural development as an answer to center city problems, a comprehensive analysis and strategy (a movement) must be born. Regionalism, because of the lack of a comprehensive picture and understanding, beyond the innermost circle of government planners and political scientist, is a "catchword" for racism and discrimination. The Federal system of government, under the guise of intergovernmental cooperation, is being radically changed with extensive existing and potential powers now resting in the hands of appointed rather than elected officials. All regional councils and regionalism as a form of government reorganization per se is not all bad, for we are faced with the problems of a governmental system which must be changed to meet the needs of a rapidly changing society and the ills of hereto-

fore untouched rural problems. It is my contention, however, that the necessary community education and mobilization around issues related to regionalism has not happened, that the particular issues pertinent to Black and poor people are known to the powers that be, but these issues will not become "key" issues in the onrushing movement towards regional government unless grassroots organizations and groups are informed and mobilized to participate in the decision-making process around the movement to regional government. If this does not happen, we will lose the political and social gains of the past decade, and the governmental system will be restructured into an overall structure in which all Blacks and racial minorities will be in minority Black to majority White political subdivisions. This will represent the development of another "closed," states rights system of government.

MANAGEMENT AND TECHNICAL ASSISTANCE FOR RURAL AREAS

INTRODUCTION—SUMMARY

(By R. Douglas Taylor, Executive Director, Western Piedmont Council of Governments, Boone, N.C.)

This conference is related to rural areas, rural and area wide development and the like. Speaking to this point, there are a number of ways in which rural areas can receive assistance in their planning, management, and other technical assistance needs. Whether you're speaking of "rural" as small cities, counties, special districts or any non-metro area there is a mechanism by which those planning needs can be met.

In our discussion this afternoon we will be able to investigate the practice and theory behind planning sources available to rural areas. In broad terms local and regional planning may be regarded as a means for systematically anticipating and achieving adjustment in our physical environment. It is designed to fulfill local objectives of social, economic and physical well-being, considering both immediate needs and those of the foreseeable future. Our roles as planners are to assist decision makers in developing accurate and sufficient data about their environment and from this data to suggest mechanisms which will accomplish these social, economic and physical objectives.

In this seminar we are particularly interested in the physical planning and management assistance aspects as services to rural areas. With regard to management assistance, in many areas of the country the "roving manager" or circuit rider technique has been used with success. For example, in the management advice area several small towns or districts may go together to fund a single-manager position to serve their jurisdictions. In some states the impetus for this service has come from university planning departments, from state municipal associations, from state departments of community assistance or from councils of governments. The concept has also received encouragement and support from the International City Managers Association—the professional governmental management organization. Whether the actual service lends itself to direct, day-to-day management duties, or provides management consulting on an as-needed basis the concept and practice is a valid one. The application of this "shared individual" is also easily seen in other functional areas such as building inspections and engineering.

Options for rural areas to receive planning assistance are available through multi-county planning associations such as regional councils of governments, whether for specific, one time, or continuing assistance, consultants, state planning departments (in North Carolina, the Division of Community Assistance) or provision of their own full-time staff. Additional avenues of planning aid include contractual arrangements with the state or local agencies.

CITIZEN PARTICIPATION IN RURAL DEVELOPMENT DECISIONMAKING

INTRODUCTION AND SUMMARY

(By John Anderson, Executive Director, East Tennessee Development District, Knoxville, Tenn.)

Change in rural America: the Court House Square supplanted by the television set as the source of opinion, news and values; the interstate for the "hard road" of old; a subdivision for the back forty; a ziggurat for the ". . . purple mountain's majesty," countour-minded, stripped to provide for the energy needs of the city . . . and the farm; an industrial park on the poor farm grounds . . . change!

The values: "Every man a lord of the soil . . ." the "free-hold empire," and "man shall have dominion" challenged by subdivision regulations, condemnation for a regional land fill, the environmental impact statement, the end of the hard line between rus and urbs. The mixed blessing of the automobile, the television, the telephone, the electric cooperative, piped water, land use controls, rural development—just words describing the conflict, the confusion.

Values: a question of which ones, the tug of the old, the pull of the new.

Involvement: a choice? a necessity?

Change, inevitable and often irrevocable and heedless of feelings or tradition, often from sources beyond our control, challenges values and forces involvement in decision making, if for no other reason than to parry or redirect the relentless force of change to preserve values.

The papers and discussions that follow explore traditional and revolutionary values inherent in decision making and practical techniques that can be used by planners in rural development to redemocratize the process.

VALUES: THE PREMISE FOR PLANNING

(By L. Mayland Parker, Ph. D., Arizona State University, Tempe, Ariz.)

John Maynard Keynes is reported to have said that:

> the ideas of economists and political philosophers, both when they are right and when they are wrong, are more powerful than is commonly understood. Indeed the world is ruled by little else. Practical men, who believe themselves to be quite exempt from any intellectual influence, are usually slaves of some defunct economist (Keynes, 1957, 383)

How many planners, specifically rural planners, are enslaved by some defunct economists? Presumably planners are not too different from the rank and file citizenry of the nation and if this premise is correct, it can be safely assumed that most planners equate the Declaration of Independence with Adam Smith's invisible hand of self-interest; and thus the political economist, Adam Smith, in the eyes of many, is a "defied" prophet in this country and the Western World as it pertains to business, economics and politics, which could not help but ensnare the planners, for they have been and are to a large degree, the obedient servants of the masters of industry.

But how can any "red-blooded" American quarrel with the concepts of "laissez faire" and the competitive free market, for are they not the "virtuous" under-pinnings of the "American Way of Life"? There is a constant reaffirmation of these "amoral" economic principles and patriotic virtues. For example, some twenty years ago, two of Dwight D. Eisenhower's Cabinet members spoke eloquently on the subject. Ezra Taft Benson, then Secretary of Agriculture, proclaimed in the Forward of the 1954 "Yearbook of Agriculture" (Marketing) the following:

> * * * Our marketing system is intricate. It is sensitive to many economic and international developments. It includes millions of processors and dealers, each making his own plans. When one first looks at such a complex system, he may easily get an impression of disaster in it.
>
> Yet there is a guiding principle. Adam Smith, a Scottish political economist of the eighteenth century, pointed out that the individual producers and businessmen, acting in their own self-interest as they make their countless separate decisions to buy or sell or hold or ship, are led as if by an invisible hand to benefit the general public. The principle is one of beneficial competition. ("Yearbook of Agriculture," 1954, vii)

Ike's esteemed Secretary of Defense in effect announced to the nation, "That what is good for General Motors is good for America." It is interesting to note that Charles E. Wilson had been President of General Motors for twelve years just prior to his secretariat position. But now twenty years later, the scoffers should take note, for it is plain for all to see that what is bad for General Motors is bad for America. And rarely, if ever before, have most of the nation's farmers enjoyed such high prices, all because they are the recipients of Earl Butz's (our present Secretary of Agriculture) insistence upon the nation's agriculture being part of the world's free and competitive marketplace.

Those who live in Arizona are very much aware of the merits of free enterprise because every student attending public high schools is required to take two years of "free-enterprise" economics, an educational program now in its fourth year. And a very recent news item dated December 30, 1974, quotes Arizona's retiring State Superintendent of Public Instruction and formerly Dean of Students at Arizona State University ". . . that the social, political, philosophical, and economic aspects of the free market system should be an essential and integral part of the public school curriculum from the first grade through high school." (Scottsdale Progress, December 30, 1974, p. 2) The citizens of Arizona are obviously in tune with the economic values that have made this nation great.

Planners can not help being caught up in these "right" kinds of ideas that are part of the establishment's panaceas of what must be. But now that we face another economic recession, that may be reminiscent of the thirties, many economists are peddling even more vigorously the ideas of John Maynard Keynes (who would probably prefer to be remembered as something other than a defunct economist) that advocate the "priming of the pump" which induces the multiplier effect, and relies upon the propensity of the consumers to consume, whether it be conspicuous or otherwise. But this sort of activity will not alleviate the inflationary trend that still persists, so the classical laissez faire libertarian economists, spearheaded by Milton Friedman at the University of Chicago proclaim the merits of the free market and assume that "God and/or nature" and/or time, will take care of everything and that the chips should fall where they may. In the midst of all this political and economic maneuvering, where do you stand, sir? And to what extent are we enslaved by the ideas of defunct economists?

In this regard, it would probably be reasonably safe to say that the radio commentator, Paul Harvey, would not acknowledge being a disciple of John Maynard Keynes, but on April Fool's Day of 1974, Mr. Harvey may have been pulling a prank on his admiring radio audience when he dramatically stated: "By raising our level of longing, we raise our level of living. This is the function of advertising. This is the story of free-enterprise." I doubt that April Fool's Day had any significance or bearing upon Paul Harvey's pronouncement, and if this assumption is correct, it would appear that Mr. Harvey has been influenced by more than one economist, for he could have said following his first sentence, "Thank you, Mr. Keynes" and following his last statement he could have said, "Thank you, Mr. Smith, or even Dr. Friedman, Mr. Butz, Mr. Benson, Charlie Wilson or the State Legislature of Arizona." To what extent are planners any different than Paul Harvey?

Present events in the world pertaining to economic theory and the environment are raising a number of questions about the validity of many of our economic notions. Many people are becoming alarmed about the apparent finiteness of our resources, and scholars are investigating many of our premises that we have assumed were basic upon which many of our institutions, programs and functions have been built, including the role that planning plays in the institutional scheme of things. In this regard Lester Brown makes the following statement:

Some of the difficulty experienced in assessing the earth's capacity to sustain continuous growth derives from the fact that many economists consider ecology a subdiscipline of economics, when in reality the converse may be more accurate.

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Those of us who are economists forget that the economic structure man has erected rests entirely on the earth's capacity to produce food, to absorb waste, to supply fresh water and energy fuels, to produce forest products and fish, and to supply mineral and other raw materials. Without these, there would not be even the most rudimentary economic activities on which man's existence depends. (Brown, 1974, p. 15)

Brown is not the only one concerned with the increasing growth theme. For example, in May of 1973 a public symposium was sponsored by the College of Liberal Arts at Oregon State University that addressed itself to the "Environmental Spectrum" and more specifically to the "social and economic views on the quality of life." The symposium consisted of ten papers being read that have since been published by D. Van Nostrand Company, and the papers represented the disciplines of chemistry, philosophy, economics, sociology, microbiology, history and management. Economic growth became one of the principle subjects in the essays presented, with some holding that economic growth was essential, others seeing the need to modify views of economic growth, while others raised serious questions about the concept of economic growth. Daly's essay was perhaps the most outspoken against economic growth, and also expressed a concern for ethical values. In this regard, he states the following:

There is no alternative but to accept the humiliation, abandon the pet theory (of economic growth) and get on with the job of figuring out how an economy consistent with physical limits, a steady-state economy, can be attained.

But ignorance of physical limits is not the only failing of growth economics. For too long we have, in the name of positive science, evaded the ethical and moral issues of just distribution by hoping that growth would mean prosperity for all with sacrifice by none. The sins of present injustice were to be washed away in a future sea of absolute abundance vouchsafed by the amazing grace of compound interest. This evasion was never very honest. It is now exposed as absurd. Precisely the same evasion is employed by the ideologist of Soviet Communism or 'state capitalism. (Daly, 1974, pp. 38–39)

Others of the essayists also made comments regarding the need for value and life style changes. Anderson in commenting on economic growth in a finite world of resources calls for a new game and points out that new rules for the old game won't work, and that "a new game means a shift of values and life styles. . . ." (Anderson, 1974, p. 20). Barnett states

We seem to be pouring into the environmental bottle all our individual and social yearnings for peace, stability, and quiet; for social justice in the world; and for more meaningful lives. To these we have added our passions for reform of values and improved quality of life generally; and our antagonism toward modern industrial growth and abuses of private enterprise. (Barnett, 1974, pp. 35–36).

Bedau concludes his essay with the following statement:

If this had been a sermon I would have taken as my Biblical text 'What does it profiteth a man if he gains the whole world and loses his own soul?' Our species has conquered this planet, exploited its resources, and subdued some limitations of space and time. Yet we are always in danger of losing our souls by neglect of social justice, as our prophets and revolutionaries have declared for millennia. So it is not enough to have a clear and uncluttered physical environment if only some have it, or if all have it but at the expense or the neglect of other liberties and rights. It is also necessary to have a social system which accords with our articulated moral principles and thus does not affront our sense of fellowship with other persons, our common personhood. (Bedau, 1974, pp. 140–141).

And Nash's essay entitled "Environmental Ethics" remarks as follows:

In concluding, I want to reemphasize the idea that ethics must underlie the environmental movement if it is really to succeed in transforming man's thought

and man's action. Conservation must become a matter of morality, not merely a matter of economics or of aesthetics or even law. We must be concerned about environmental responsibility not because it is profitable or beautiful, and not even because it promotes our survival, but because it is right. (Nash, 1974, p. 150).

These negative notions regarding economic growth would have been regarded as gross irresponsibility twenty years ago, while today there are more than a few who are at least extending a curious and/or sympathetic ear. Out of this intellectual controversy will likely come new socioeconomic and ethical values and thus new premises which will presumably alter and reshape our future institutions and which cannot help but have an impact upon the future of rural planning.

For some two decades I have been profoundly interested in the ethical economic values of people, but only recently have I been able to express some of my findings and notions on ethical economic values without feeling a deep sense of academic guilt, for I was made to feel that values were outside the realm of scholarly endeavor. But times are changing; for example, values and/or ethics were specifically mentioned or alluded to in nine of the ten essays mentioned above. One of the ten authors, Kurt Baier, a philosopher at the University of Pittsburgh, tends to confirm my guilt complex with the following statement:

It has long been and probably still is the received view that the social sciences must be 'value free' . . . Accordingly, when scientists confront value problems, they either hand them over to those who have no compunction in making them, expertly or otherwise: politicians, philosophers, clergymen, and pundits of all kinds; or they so disguise them that they can pretend to others and themselves that no value judgements have been made. (Baier, 1974, pp. 68–69).

Baier then takes a certain delight in pointing out how Professor Neil H. Jacoby (Professor and founding Dean of the Graduate School of Management at the University of California at Los Angeles and one essayist who did not directly mention values or ethics in his paper) did a pretty good job of disguising values but did a rather commendable job of making value judgements. A similar statement comes from Sister Annette Buttimer, a geographer at Clark University who states, "American geography until quite recently, paid little attention to the question of values, except perhaps to caution about their 'danger' in empirical analysis." (Buttimer, 1974, p. 21). Fortunately there seems to be a breakthrough in academia that may legitimize research and dialogue in the area of values, and especially values as they pertain to the relationship of ethics and economics.

As a graduate student two decades ago I was much impressed with a passage I found in Ralph Linton's book "The Study of Man," first published in 1936, which among other things said,

What the modern world needs far more than improved production methods or even a more equitable distribution of their results is a series of mutually consistent ideas and values in which all its members can participate. Perhaps something of the sort can be developed in time to prevent the collapse which otherwise seems inevitable. (Linton, 1936, p. 287).

Linton further envisioned another "dark age" unless some essential values are forthcoming. Linton did not suggest a common strand of values and it has become rather apparent that the common strand of values that he so urgently stressed is not likely to be found among the current "cherished" economic values of the Western World, if for no other reason than that most of the third world people or even

tribal people of our own nation have been reluctant to fully embrace our "Western" economic values. Yet over the years I believe that I have gradually arrived at the point where I perceive a possible common strand of ethical economic values.

This perception has come about because of my close working association with a number of different people representing a number of different American Indian tribes, through the acquaintance of students from Tribal Africa, reports coming from Peace Corpsmen working with tribal people overseas and from VISTAS working with American Indians in the United States, from my acquaintance with Maori friends from New Zealand and with government administrators working with tribal people in India and Vietnam. I found some remarkable similarities in the traditional ethical economic values of these diverse cultures and that these similiarities closely parallel the ethical economic values as found in the scriptorial writings of the Jewish, Christian and Islamic religions. It also became apparent that the "American Way of Life" fosters a double standard of values, one standard seemingly consisting of personal preferences that resemble the values of the "real world," and the other standard more nearly resembling the idealistic values of the traditional Judaic-Christian philosophy.

The double standard of values mentioned above can clearly be demonstrated by administering a value test of my own devising which I refer to as the "Value Test" or as the "How Would You Like to Farm?" Test. This test evolved from some questions that were prepared as a part of a survey questionnaire used during the summer of 1961 in a sincere attempt to ascertain from the indigenous inhabitants of an Arizona Indian community their desires in the utilization of their allotted land, which is deemed a proper procedure in rural planning. Both the survey questionnaire and the "value test" questions presented some options on how people would prefer to farm and utilize their land. The "Value Test" has been given to students, Peace Corps and VISTA trainees, to American Indian people representing a number of different tribes, and to other groups including foreign students coming from tribal cultures. Over this period, well over 1,000 people have been tested with the results from a representative sample being presented in this paper.

The ethical economic value test requires that a simulated situation be created where the following assumptions are made:

ASSUMPTIONS OF THE SIMULATED SITUATION

1. Would you assume that you have just inherited 1,000 to 5,000 acres of very productive agricultural land sufficient, if managed properly, to provide a very good living.
2. The land is located in an area where you would most prefer to live.
3. That your neighbors are all congenial friends and/or relatives.
4. That you are young, vigorous, and healthy.
5. That you are a good farmer and that you would not want to do anything else.

With these assumptions in mind, those taking the test are then given four different options in how the newly acquired land might be utilized:

LAND USE OPTIONS

1. Farm your land as a private entrepreneur.

2. Consolidate your land holdings with other farms in the area and create a large corporate farm where you would be the largest stockholder and where you could be manager if you so desired. Also, being the largest stockholder, you would of course receive the largest share of the profits.

3. Consolidate your land holdings with other farms in the area and create a large democratic cooperative corporate farm where each stockholder would have but one vote and where the stockholders (on a one man-one vote basis) would elect or otherwise select their manager. The profits or earnings of the cooperative corporation would be distributed as patronage refunds on the basis of participation or contribution to the organization.

4. Consolidated your land holdings with other farms in the area and create a large democratic collective corporate farm where each stockholder would have one vote and where the stockholdes (on a one man-one vote basis) would elect or otherwise select their manager. The profits would be distributed on the basis of wants and needs.

With this background information, the questions of the value test are as follows:

THE ETHICAL ECONOMIC VALUE TEST (RESULTS OF PAST TESTS)

[In percent]

	Options							
	1	2	Total of options 1 and 2	3	4	Total of options 3 and 4	5[1]	Total
1. Which of the 4 options listed above would be your first personal preference in farming and utilizing your land?								
White replies	59	13	(72)	13	10	(23)	5	100
Indian replies	24	9	(33)	22	43	(65)	2	100
2. Which option do you think your great grandfathers or ancestors would have selected?								
White replies	86	5	(91)	5	3	(8)	1	100
Indian replies	17	5	(22)	8	67	(75)	3	100
3. Which of the 4 options would you choose if you were to believe implicitly in what you consider to be the concepts of free-enterprise, capitalism and the "American Way of Life"?								
White replies (not given to Indian people)	63	23	(86)	6	2	(8)	6	100
4. If you were to farm individually, would you want to be the most successful and most wealthy farmer in your community, or would you like to see the other farmers in the community equally successful?								
White replies			[2] 38			[2] 62		
Indian replies			[2] 14			[2] 86		
5. Based on your knowledge of religion and the basic scriptures, how do you think God or your Creator would want you to farm?								
White replies	35	4	(39)	14	46	(60)	1	100
Indian replies	15	0	(16)	2	82	(84)		100
6. Which of the 4 options do you think would best implement the humanistic concept of "love your neighbor as yourself"?								
White replies	27	1	(28)	16	54	(70)	2	100
Indian replies	14	3	(17)	0	83	(83)		100
7. How do you think the traditional American Indians would have preferred to farm?								
White replies	14	2	(16)	19	64	(83)	1	100
7a. How do you think the white man would prefer to farm?								
Indian replies	73	19	(92)	0	1	(1)	7	100
8. How do you think Karl Marx would want you to farm?								
White replies	0	1	(1)	1	98	(99)	0	100

[1] Up until the current year, the leasing of one's land to another was used as a 5th option.
[2] Most successful.
[2] Equally successful.

The scope of this paper limits an extensive analysis of the "Value Test," therefore the following highlights and summary are presented:

1. The "Value Test" sample indicates that a sizable portion of "Western Society" have personal economic preferences that are in conflict with what they consider to be their ethical principles.

2. Most respondents indicate God would not want them to manage a corporate farm.

3. About twice as many would prefer to be associated with a cooperative or a collective farm than to be associated with a larger corporate farm.

4. It would appear that American Indians may have different ethical-economic values, and that complete acculturation has not yet been achieved.[1]

What are the values of rural planners and what are the values of those who will be presumably better served by rural planners?[2] Are the economic, energy and environmental problems of today sufficiently extenuating to warrant a serious review of values on the part of planners? Can the planning of the future address itself to the vested interests and rely upon the invisible hand of greed and the gluttony of insatiable consumption? A transition and a change of values seems inevitable if the world, the nation, and the community are to avoid chaos. It would appear that planners will be faced with the challenge and the responsibility of playing a difficult and often lonely role in this regard.

How can rural planners be effective innovators of values? This won't be easy for as the results of the "Value Test" as presented in this paper indicate, the "Western World" is suffering from a dichotomy of values, a malady I fear of rather long duration. The results of this malady are becoming more and more apparent as viewed from the recent events at the highest levels of our government where a double standard of values has revealed a rather complete lack of credibility of our leaders in almost every walk of life, thereby placing our institutions on a rather shaky foundation. Furthermore it appears that most people are primarily concerned with a very short range perception, for in 1952 a five-volume work of President Truman's Materials Policy Commission (also known as the Paley Commission) indicated that within the next quarter century we could experience some shortages in basic resources. Now that the fateful hour appears to have arrived, one is still generally appalled at the lack of voluntary self discipline and self-sacrifice on the part of the consuming public. The current flurry of Cadillac sales is just one case in point.

In September of 1958 a rather interesting article appeared in Fortune Magazine under the title of "The Businessman's Moral Failure," written by Rabbi Louis Finkelstein, who, as a voice crying in the wilderness, declared:

> If American businessmen are right in the way most of them now live, then all the wise men of the ages, all the prophets and the saints were fools. If the saints were not fools, the businessmen must be.

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[1] The results obtained from testing Indian groups are not as consistent as the results from non-Indian groups and my Indian sample has not been as extensive as I would have liked.

[2] May I encourage those who become acquainted with this paper to administer this test to their students or other groups or individuals. Test instructions and answer sheets can be obtained by writing the author.

Too many businessmen never stop to ponder what they are doing; they reject the need for self-discipline; they are satisfied to be clever, when they need to be wise. They worry about their place on the economic ladder, but are not concerned sufficiently with whether the civilization in which they work is likely to collapse. They can defeat a local competitior, but may well be defeated by the competitor of us all, which is moral decay. (Finkelstein, Fortune Magazine, September 1958, p. 116).

Perhaps rural planners in their educational roles in participatory democracy will acquaint themselves with what the prophets, the wisemen and the saints have had to say about ethical economic values, whether the sages of the past be associated with well known religious movements or whether they represent the multitudinous teachings of Holy Men of tribal cultures. If one will but take the time to search out religious scripture or the traditional values of tribal people (a research endeavor in which I am engaged) one will find that they all have about the same ethical economic values. Therefore it is my hypothesis that the common strand of values, stressed as being so essential by Ralph Linton, are the ethical economic values as espoused by traditional tribalism and as found in religious scriptures of all faiths; and that the teaching and implementation of these values at this point in history may be most valid and pertinent to society's present and impending crisis and future well-being.

The Old Testament, the New Testament, the Koran, the Talmud, the Bhagavad-Gita, the Upanishads, the Bahai writings, the Mormon writings and the Buddhist philosophy and writings are all abundantly and richly endowed with ethical economic philosophy that would imply that most western and/or "classical" economists are indeed defunct. I should like to illustrate my point with representative quotations from various religious scriptures or descriptions of religious philosophy and accounts of traditional tribal values:

E. F. Schumacher in discussing Buddhism and Buddhist economics states the following:

It is clear, therefore, that Buddhist economics must be very different from the economics of modern materialism, since the Buddhist sees the essence of civilization not in multiplication of wants but in the purification of human character * * *"

He (the modern economist) is used to measuring the standard of living by the amount of annual consumption, assuming all the time that a man who consumes more is better off than a man who consumes less. A Buddhist economist would consider this approach excessively irrational since consumption is merely a means to human well-being, the aims should be to obtain the maximum of well-being with the minimum of consumption. (Schumacher, Resurgence Magazine, 1968)

From the *Bhagavad-Gita:*

Take care neither to acquire nor to hoard * * * you have the right to work, but for the work's sake only. You have no right to the fruits of the work. Desire for the fruits of work must never be your motive in working. Never give way to laziness either. (Bhagavad-Gita, 1951, p.40)

From the *Upanishads:*

My Lord, if this whole earth belonged to me, with all its wealth, should I through its possession attain immortality? No, your life would be like that of the rich. None can possibly hope to attain immortality through weath. (Upanishads, p.86)

From the *Psalms:*

The earth is the Lord's and the fulness thereof; the world and they that dwell therein. ("Psalm" 24:1) or Behold, these are the ungodly, who prosper in the world; they increase in riches. (Psalm 73:12)

From the *Act:*

And all that believed were together, and had all things common; and sold their possessions and goods, and parted them to all men, as every man had need. ("Acts" 2:44–45)

From the *Epistle of James:*

Go ye now, ye rich men, weep and howl for their miseries that shall come upon you. Your riches are corrupted, and your garments are moth-eaten. ("General Epistle of James" 5:1–2)

The Maori (Tribal people of New Zealand):

It is in terms of communism that many of the institutions of the Maori are to be explained. The lack of civil law is partly supplied by the "communistic spirit". The system of kinship terminology is strangely affected by the communistic life of the native; in land tenure "the Maori held tenaciously to his communistic methods" while his system of exacting compensation for offences is a "mark of communism". (Firth, 1959, p. 360).

Tribal legends occasionally describe the characteristics of historical holy men who have handed down their teachings by word of mouth. One such personality was the Iroquois prophet, Degonawidah, who in his day found the leaders of the Iroquois tribes very corrupt, tyrannical and cannibalistic. Rather than destroying these leaders it became his mission to "comb the kinks out of their minds," a goal which he achieved, and then went on to establish the principles of the Iroquois Federation, which many historians have come to regard with a great deal of respect. Degonawidah further taught that "We shall have one dish in which shall be placed one beaver tail, and we shall all have co-equal right to it * * *. The hunting grounds shall be open to all. There was to be common access to raw materials." (Wallace, 1946, pp. 31–32)[3]

If rural planners are to meet the challenge of the day it would appear that they might also consider the role of "combing the kinks out of men's minds" as it pertains to values, for in my mind, values pretty much determine the characteristics of communities. As rural planners, how would you react to the following descriptions of three different communities?

No. 1. "* * * there are no rich people and paupers, no people of great power; nor yet people who are oppressed." (Diamond, 1974, p. 11)

No. 2. "* * * no individual or group of individuals hold punitive power. All authority is vested in town meeting, and although the norms of the * * * (community) * * * are followed almost without exception, there are no policemen, judges, or courts in this society. In short, social control in the * * * (community * * * has been achieved with a minimum of formalized patterns of authority." (Spiro, 1969, p. 287)

No. 3. "And they had all things common among them; therefore there were not rich and poor, bond and free, but they were all made free * * *. And there were no envyings, nor strifes, nor tumults, nor whoredoms, nor lyings, nor murder or no robbers and surely there could not be a happier people among all the people who had been created by the hand of God." ("Book of Mormon," 1830, pp. 456–457)

Each of these three descriptions is of a communal community, the first being a description of tribal communities as portrayed by Bronislaw Malinowski, the second is the description of an Israeli Kibbutz and the third the cultural norms of a society as described in the Mormon "Book of Mormon."

[3] An infinitesimal fraction of the quotations available.

Many rural planners are likely to consider these suggestions too "far out" for serious consideration, but one should pause a moment and reflect upon our present life style. Is not the corporate business entity the dominant institutional arrangement of our day? Is not the corporate entity a collective frequently involving hundreds and thousands of people? How democratic is the corporate entity? Why not rural democratic community corporations where all members of the community are active participants and where every adult has one vote and only one vote? Why not cooperative coordination between democratic community corporations that might eventually encompass the globe so that we might better inventory our resources, our wants and needs and man's capability and the feasibility of satisfying his wants and needs? Why don't we concentrate upon satisfying a maximum of well-being with a minimum of consumption? And in doing this is it necessary to do it with prices and money (see "Isaiah" 55 : 1 and 2nd Nephi 26 of the "Book of Mormon") ? Why isn't some innovative college or university preparing young people to live in such a community where they can learn technical skills, participatory democratic management skills, and a new set of ethical economic values that will be more in keeping with our necessary ecological considerations, that also includes the brotherhood of man and where the college or university would actually be such a community and where the students would learn by doing? [4] Would such a community really work? There are a few examples where such undertakings have worked which cannot be detailed in this paper. Would such a college or university work? The economic feasibilities of such a proposed institution indicate that it could repay long term loans or pay dividends on preferred stock and be financially self supporting and independent.

I do not know how many planners share my ideas on rural planning, but evidently there are others, for in the December 14, 1974 issue of "Saturday Review/World," Theodore Taylor talks about "self-sufficient communities that make full use of locally available sources of energy and materials." He suggests these communities be designed to "* * * provide their residents with a sense of full participation in the economic, cultural and political development of the community while they also provide easy access to natural environments that are little disturbed by human activity." (Taylor, 1974, p. 57)

To give the community self-sufficiency he suggests that greenhouse agriculture might be seriously considered by rural planners and that by controlling the environment much higher yields can be obtained with the utilization of less water. However from my limited involvement with greenhouse agriculture, it will be necessary to harness other sources of non-polluting energy (hopefully solar, wind, geothermal or ther non-polluting sources) needed for winter (evening) heating and in some areas for summer cooling, before it could economically be used for the production of cereals, man's staff of life. Mr. Taylor points out that: "Preliminary estimates suggest that grains, fruits and vegetables sufficient for providing a balanced diet for more than 200 people from each hectare of greenhouse structures can be realized at initial capital costs as low as $50 per consumer." (Taylor, 1974, p. 57) My own experience in doing economic studies of greenhouse agri-

[4] The particulars of such an arrangement have been refined to a considerable degree and would be available to interested parties

sulture does indeed excite one's imagination with its potential for rural and/or urban development, and it is an aspect that should not be overlooked in rural planning.

Mr. Taylor also envisions the eventual establishment of communities in outer space and the utilization of mineral resources from the moon. Again he foresees self-sufficient communities with the facility for producing food in outer space. He further thinks that such a community or communities could carry on a number of interesting experiments in pluralistic life styles. In this regard he makes the following comments:

> Choices that will become more restricted on a finite and crowded planet can be tested in the extended environment of space—where "astroculture" for example, will complement agriculture to help provide a continuing material base for the development of humanity. The requirements for cooperative action in these new worlds in space may provide models for improving our performance and cooperation on earth. The severity of the environmental challenges draws forth such basic virtues as honesty, sharing, self-discipline, concern for the whole. "Selfish" behaviour will more obviously endanger the survival of the group whereas cooperative behaviour will be more readily visible and appreciated. Humanity has received many ethical instructions from all its spiritual leaders—yet we have consistently failed to live up to our own expectations. Possibly the challenges of extraterrestrial living will create the model of brother-sister-like behavior that we have longed to achieve on earth. (Taylor, 1974, pp 57–59)

Taylor's description of a community in outer space sounds like an ultimate in rural planning.

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CITIZEN INVOLVEMENT IN LAND USE PLANNING FOR RURAL DEVELOPMENT

(By Stephen A. Webster, MSSW, MA, School of Social Work, University of Tennessee, Knoxville, Tenn.)

Background

In the Fall of 1974 a unique and innovative approach designed to involve citizens in land use planning took place in East Tennessee and Western North Carolina—specifically thirteen counties that surround the Great Smoky Mountains National Park (GSMNP).[1] About three years ago the East Tennessee Development District (ETDD) became aware that the National Park Service (NPS) was about to embark on a revision of the master plan for the GSMNP that would extend the master plan to 1990. It was recognized that the policies and programs of this master plan would have significant impact upon the development of the predominantly rural surrounding region and the cities and counties within it. Rumors were rife about possible major management policy decision changes. Issues included talk about eliminating camping in the park and a new transmountain road connecting the cities of Townsend, Tennessee and Bryson City, North Carolina.

NPS had allocated $25,000 to the task of revising the plan—considerably more than had been used in prior park planning efforts but certainly not enough to assess the impact on the region and provide for the development of a regional plan that would optimize park and related recreational development in the surrounding community.

In the early spring of 1973 NPS began to develop a strategy that would involve representatives of local government as well as Federal agencies connected with regional development in a comprehensive planning effort that would hopefully serve as a prototype for future park planning efforts. In June of 1973 NPS called together representatives from the National Forest Service, State departments of conservation, and local development districts to address the issue of a comprehensive plan. There was consensus that the idea was excellent and badly needed and that a team approach was the preferred mechanism. Though citizen involvement was viewed as threatening it was clear—particularly due to requirements for environmental impact statements—that it must be a necessary component of the planning process.

A general goal was agreed upon—an improved planning and management system that would optimize the beneficial efforts of the park on the regional economy and improve the GSMNP's own internal

[1] The North Carolina counties were Buncombe, Cherokee, Clay, Graham, Haywood, Jackson, Macon and Swain. Tennessee counties were Blount, Cocke, Knox, Monroe and Sevier.

operation. However, no one could agree on exactly how to achieve this goal. Each agency's approach differed with regard to their mission e.g., the NPS focused on "use and enjoyment/preservation," the NFS on "resource utilization." These issues still needed to be resolved and translated into a written plan agreeable to all concerned. To write the plans a team was formed with coordination responsibility assigned to representatives of the Asheville field office of the North Carolina Department of Natural and Economic Resources and the East Tennessee Development District. The planning team consisted of representatives from Fish and Wildlife Services, NFS, NPS, The Soil Conservation Service, The Tennessee State Planning Office, The Bureau of Indian Affairs (for the Cherokee Reservation), The Tennessee Valley Authority, the Bureau of Outdoor Recreation, and the Department of Housing and Urban Development.

Midstream in the development of the planning effort came the discussion of a wilderness proposal. It was required by the Federal Wilderness Act which stated an explicit date at which time the Directors of NPS and the Secretary of the Interior would be required to present a Wilderness Plan to the President and he in turn required to transmit it to the Congress. However simple it might have seemed to the planners, the public in the area surrounding the park was greatly confused, feeling once again that NPS had spoken of cooperation and then betrayed them through a proposal that incorporated thousands of new acres in an untouchable pristine forest primeval. The issues were becoming clearer: wilderness, public use, transportation, and the economic benefits of tourism. Slowly the proposed park and related plans were becoming embroiled in controversy at both the national and local level as people began to take sides on the issues.

Faced with developing two plans: One for the park—another regional recreation guidelines, planners set out to find the answers and define the issues. Within the park (1) what were the resources; (2) what did the resource complex offer in restraints to the use and development; (3) what developmental and management alternatives would best protect the resources and provide for continued use? Outside the park a similar approach with more attention to supply-needs/demands for recreation: (1) what could the region supply that the park didn't; (2) what were the administrative/economic/political constraints on expanded tourist-related development in the region?

The tasks became clearer: (1) the development of a resources-basic inventory and its analysis; (2) an analysis of the visitors—who were they, what did they want, where did they come from, how did they get there; (3) a need/demands analysis in the area of outdoor recreation; (4) a land suitability analysis; (5) generation of alternative concept plans for the park; (6) a determination of regional issues including land use conflicts and the responsibility of local government to new challenges, and (7) determination of what citizens living in the area surrounding the park desired for future development of their areas.[2]

Under these auspices plans began for the involvement of representatives of local planning commissions, citizens at large, and locally

[2] To be prepared by: (1) NPS; (2) An independent New York based marketing firm; (3) TVA; (4) TVA, NASA and the Penn State Land Use Planning Program; (5) NPS, (6) ETDD and NCDENR; (7) The University of Tennessee and Western Carolina University.

elected officials in problem priority setting. As the issues began to receive wider public recognition interest groups such as the Sierra Club, Tennessee Citizens for Wilderness Planning, the Audubon Society and others began to pressure NPS for planning decisions compatible with their interests. These were the same groups that traditionally harassed the NPS and its planners. A planner with the Denver Service Center of NPS related the motivational factors. In the past he said, the NPS had developed plans without consulting residents living in or near the areas affected by their plans. After plans were developed NPS conducted open hearings for the public to ask questions about the already formed plans. He noted that usually only those citizens with vested interests attended those hearings and NPS often drew heavy criticism from them. Consequently NPS had been looking for ways to reduce public criticism and improve relations with the public affected by their plans. In addition NPS wanted to find—prior to writing the plan—what non-vested interested citizens wanted and a method to avoid open hearings which created conflict and reduced consensus.

As altruistic as it seems the goal was to avoid planning in isolation—the philosophy—that the park was one of the major economic resources and the impact of park development ought to be in the direction that residents desired.

The NPS in cooperation with the University of Denver Sociology Department set upon designing a process that would meet these objectives.

The process

Together they settled on a process that would involve randomly selected citizens and locally elected officials in enunciation of their concerns for future development. The specific planning model that they settled on was the Program Planning Model. They were particularly interested in Phase One—the problem exploration stage and the nominal group process.

Research studies have tended to substantiate the superiority of nominal groups (groups in which individuals work in parallel rather than interactive fashion). The research indicated that interacting groups with the task of generating critical problem variables produce less problem dimensions, fewer high quality suggestions and a smaller number of different kinds of solutions than groups with members who were constrained from interacting. With such techniques as brainstorming, despite elaborate attempts at freeing individuals to speak spontaneously fully sharing their ideas, people seem comfortable in sharing only fairly well developed ideas with the group, particularly in non-primary group situations. Second, interacting groups tend to focus on a particular train of thought, concentrating and elaborating a single problem dimension. Individuals find it more comfortable to react to someone else's idea, usually a prime spokesperson, than to generate their own ideas. Third, interacting groups tend to focus on early ideas which often contain obvious rather than subtle problem dimensions.

The nominal group fosters different role modelling. Social facilitation tension is created by individuals industriously working in parallel fashion while writing problem dimensions. During the round-robin

section individuals are encouraged to continue to add to their problem list. Early risk takers facilitate other individuals' generation of risky problems during the round-robin process. In addition the nominal group activity precludes evaluation of any particular problem dimensions and the subsequent distraction of elaborating comments while problem dimensions are being generated. Finally the process rewards the less verbal group members by accentuating individual contributions and downplays the tendency of verbally aggressive individuals to sway group decision making. Since there is no attempt to focus on one major problem individuals become less rigidly committed to a pet idea.[3]

Utilizing this process then groups of citizens and locally elected officials would be convened on two separate occasions simultaneously in thirteen counties. Never to my knowledge has a structured group experience like this one undertaken by the NPS. The task of actual design and implementation fell upon the author—a professor at the University of Tennessee School of Social Work, Knoxville—who was responsible for the Tennessee involvement.

Recruitment

The selection of planning commission members and locally elected officials was easy enough because the population was defined. Selection of the citizens' groups however presented methodological difficulties. The planner's desire was to avoid having the meetings controlled by vested interest groups. The accent was to be on a random choice of citizens invited to participate. A rather naive belief in participatory democracy fostered the initiation of a process that would involve calling individuals from a randomly generated computer list of telephone numbers and inviting these individuals to participate in the citizens' meetings. The calling was done by the League of Women Voters and the Home Demonstration Clubs of the Agricultural Extension Service. To avoid any additional biasing, callers were instructed to recruit eighty individuals during the daytime and eighty in the evening. Each county had responsibility for recruiting a specified number of individuals.

The recruitment system proved to be less than satisfactory as 25% of the numbers called were not in use, 25% were not home, and 25% refused to participate. The process was very anxiety-producing for the volunteer callers and was extremely time consuming. As individuals were recruited they were sent follow-up letters reminding them of the importance of the meeting, specifying again the time and location, and containing a brief explanation of what they were going to be doing.

Forty graduate students from the UTSSW enrolled in a course The Planning and Management of Change had been trained as facilitators for the nominal group process. Students and staff approached the meetings with anticipation expecting a 100% turn out and a worthwhile educational experience. It was expected that citizens would be overwhelmingly interested in policies and programs affecting their areas. They would be asked to respond to the question "What are the major problems that need to be solved in the next 15 years to continue to make your county the kind of place you want to live?"

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[3] Delbecq, Andre L. and Vande Ven, Andrew H., "A Group Process Model for Problem Identification and Program Planning," Journal of Applied Behavioral Science, Volume 7, No. 4, 1971.

The assumption of participatory democracy proved naive. 42% of the recruited citizens were in attendance.[4] At first this dismayed the planners, students and coordinators. However, in comparison with returns on mail out surveys, open hearings attendance, and voter turnouts, attendance was viewed as rather substantial.

In order to assess the achieved randomness biographical data was gathered on the citizens. Included was information on sex, age, length of time living in the region, occupation, and level of political activity. It must be remembered that the goal was to achieve a cross section of the population and prevent the meetings from being stacked by vested interests. The data tends to support a successful evaluation. 60% of the participants had lived in the region—(The Southern Appalachians—characterized by heavy outmigration)—over 35 years, 6%—26–35 years, 18%—16–25 years, 11%—5–15 years and 5% under five years. Almost all were life-long residents of the region. Ages ranged from 21–69 with the average age ranging from 32.8–53 depending on the county. The occupations were so diverse that it was impossible to summarize them in terms of a central tendency or descriptive phrase. 66% were males. The data indicated that the group was fairly politically active with an average score of 2 on a 0–4 scale. A rough characterization of the citizens groups would indicate that they were middle-aged and older, predominantly male, life-long residents of the area, employed or retired, and reasonably politically active. Though we did not have individuals who would never and had never been involved in issues of concern to them, we do feel that we got people who would not have come to the meeting had it been advertised as an open hearing. Very few were members of formal groups with a vested interest in environmental issues. Though the amount of self-selection precludes any definite dimension of randomness, the above data supports the notion of a cross section.

The results

Of primary interest to the planning team were the problems generated and their priority rankings. The regional rankings developed from a syntheses of both North Carolina and Tennessee were the following:

(1) Better roads and travel.
(2) Doctors and medical facilities.
(3) Industry and jobs.
(4) Education.
(5) Zoning.
(6) Pollution of streams and lakes.
(7) Water and sewage systems.
(8) Waste and trash disposal.
(9) Planning (regional).
(10) Recreation.
(11) Better government.
(12) Relationship with NPS and counties.
(13) Better law enforcement.
(14) Health and Welfare.
(15) Park lands and monetary problems.

[4] Because of this response rate all locally elected officials were invited to participate. 50% responded affirmatively. 38% of those who indicated they would participate, did.

There was a great deal of consensus inasmuch as the first five items on the regional list are found within the first two items on any other list whether that of a locally elected official or citizen.[5]

An examination of the priorities indicated no surprises and in fact the most obvious fact is that there are planners to deal with every issue. Synthesizing was done by the University of Denver Sociology Department. The usefulness of the data at the regional level is suspect because of the tendency of the synthesizers to use key words that are difficult to translate into planning decisions. However a review in the appendix of county problem lists indicates considerably more useful information. Nonetheless one must conclude that the nominal group process is effective in generating a wide diversity of problem dimensions—probably more than planners care or are able to deal with.

Productivity

The third question to be answered is whether the process is efficacious for generating individual citizen involvement. Three to eighteen separate problem statements were generated per individual. For citizens the average number of statements per individual was 8.3. Locally elected officials tended to generate slightly less with an average of 7.6. Though the difference is not significant it does represent a deviation from the expected pattern based on the assumption that politicians would be more problem-oriented than randomly selected citizens. Controlling for duplicative problem statements, eight-person groups generated from 17–59 separate problem dimensions with an average of 35.7.

Based on this information we conclude that the nominal group is an exceptionally effective process for generating individual productivity and involvement. A more subjective analysis lends greater support. Individuals unfamiliar with the task, process, and other group members worked on the task for three hours. When they left the meeting they were happy, felt they had been productive, and felt that involvement had been stimulated in a manner pleasing to them.[6] The effort received widespread and favorable attention from the press. In two counties active opposition and anger characterized the entry attitudes of individuals. The facilitators were able to channel this anger into the group process with the resulting effect that those groups were more productive than the others.

Conclusions

We found that process to work very well. We suggest that others may find it useful and wish to replicate it in other similar situations. In fact preparations are presently in order to run the process in eleven other counties of ETDD next year. However, we do have some recommendations.

(1) It does not appear useful to recruit citizens from randomly generated telephone lists. Two other possibilities are offered as suggestions. The first would be to randomly call from telephone books. The most frustrating aspect of our approach was the large number of un-

[5] Further analysis of the results that would indicate differences between officials and citizens is presently being conducted but is not available for this paper.

[6] Follow up research is presently under way to assess reactions to the process by participants.

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assigned phone numbers. A second approach would be to advertise as an open hearing and then gather biographical data with which to stratify the results on the basis of desired indicators.

(2) We think that locally elected officials and citizens should meet at the same time. It is felt that this will increase attendance as well as provide for immediate feedback and synthesis.

(3) Designers of the process must be sensitive to cultural difference. First, the process is most useful for populations that believe that planning is an optimal process for decision-making and conflict resolution. The process met with opposition when run at the Cherokee Reservation due to a consensus decision-making model and desire for action rather than problem identification.

Secondly, the process requires literacy. Individual's unable to write must be identified early and provisions made for their input before this resistance handicaps the process. Thirdly, our citizen's meetings were held on a Wednesday—traditionally prayer meeting night in the region. We feel that this accounted in part for the less than 100% turnout.

(4) Participating individuals found it difficult to resist being solution oriented rather than problem oriented. Facilitators should be especially attentive to this and need to consistently remind group members to be problem oriented and be willing and able to help members rewrite statements in order to make them problem oriented.

Citizen involvement for what purpose?

This discussion would not be complete without some questions raised about the ethical issues of citizen involvement. There appear to be basically five arguments supporting citizen involvement: 1) The argument for democracy; 2) The barriers of existing governmental bodies to be responsive to peoples needs; 3) Need for citizen support for the success of the project; 4) Therapeutic benefits to the participants, and 5) Need for better informed decision-making. We were somewhat successful on all five points.

The problem in this situation is that planners will interpret the data from their own mind set. Since the planners are concerned with developing tourism and increasing recreational capacity the data will be interpreted in this light. As one looks down this list of priorities recreation comes out rather low. Will tourism solve the major problems? I think not. In fact it does not take too much imagination to see it exacerbating the problems. The distance between the problems and the goals of the planners makes the data less useful unless the planners are willing to consider no-growth as a viable decision.

However, once the citizens have been involved the course is set. Failure to be responsive to the problems and dealing in the alternative plans with the impact on citizen identified problems will cause more anger than if there had been no involvement in the first place. The question of course shakes down to power. Do the planners or the people hold the power?

Discussion

Richard S. Little.—I appreciate this opportunity to respond to Dr. Parker's paper. He raises questions of values in planning and social sciences. Science, which strives for objectivity, always has trouble with

values that stem from the emotional attitudes of humans. The paper describes some of the difficulties scientists have in attempting to handle values.

One scale of values that I would associate with the choices Dr. Parker gave to his survey group is one of selfishness and selflessness. Most individuals react to life's situations with a mix. The difficulty in selecting the choices of Dr. Parker's farm game is to distinguish what people think the choices mean, what the traditional definitions would imply, and what ideally might be their meaning.

For example, most white Americans who responded, preferred to farm the land as a private entrepreneur. I would guess that they would not see the private entrepreneur as completely selfish. He would be a family man. Yet, one could interpret the private entrepreneur as a selfish person who takes care of "number one" and ignores the plight of others.

One conclusion in this paper that I have pondered, was the low opinion of the corporation as a vehicle for farming land. It is easy to criticize the corporation. The basic assumptions of a capitalistic economy, competition, easy entry and exit of producer and consumer from the market place, do not exist as much as one would like. The growth of the great automobile producing corporation makes a mockery of these basic assumptions. I cannot agree that what is bad for General Motors Corporation is always going to be bad for the country. In my opinion the size, power, and arrogance of General Motors is bad for the country. The dependence of the country's health economy on the continued consumption of what Detroit teaches the nation's consumers to want, makes the economy extremely vulnerable.

Yet, the corporation is an important vehicle for insuring a continuity from one generation to another. Family companies based on the private entrepreneur concept, have difficulty in bridging generations.

Another presentation at this Conference discussed the mix of private entrepreneurship and success of village corporations in Yugoslavia. It is a good example of the mixing of the various vehicles of production involved in the choices of Dr. Parker's farming game. As we discuss the means to improve rural America, the corporation, modified to mix the positive aspects of private entrepreneurship may well be useful.

The problem of corporate responsibility and image in developing the land is not new. In the current interest of conservation and environmental planning the writings of George Perkins Marsh in the 1860's remind us of its history. Marsh was critical of the growing railroads that were damaging the environment and exercising huge political and economic power. He went on to elaborate the negative aspects of the urban-commercial societies that have wreaked havoc in the Mediterranean Basin for the last 2000 years.

One must, however, respect the staying power of such areas as the banking and commercial centers such as Beirut, Lebanon. As remote descendents of the trading Phonecians, the city's commercial interests keep counting their money, apparently ignoring the tragic Israeli-Arab conflict that swirls around them. As we contemplate values in this discussion, it is interesting to note, when mentioning the eastern Mediterranean, its contribution to so many of our values, commercially, spiritually, and politically.

Another difficult problem in Dr. Parker's game plan is the identification of whites and Indians as opposing groups, philosophically. The whites may be classed as a group with European ancestry and a tradition of capitalism. The concept of the Indian group is more difficult.

The term Indian was given by the Europeans to a diverse population that inhabited North America at the time of Columbus. To what extent the tribal groups, who responded to the questions, are representative of all descendants is hard to ascertain.

The manner of how the individual, the group, the society accept the values that Dr. Parker asks the planning profession to spread has been and will be an ongoing question. I certainly agree that we need to work to develop a rural democratic community corporation to enhance rural economic life. We need to introduce training in schools and colleges that stresses the ethical economic values that offer a chance for mankind to achieve a balance with nature. We need to keep trying to replace greed, fear, and violence that bring so much destruction with reasonable selflessness, courage, and love.

David R. Godschalk.—I think we've had two very interesting papers, both dealing with methods of participation: Mayland Parker concerned with forms of participatory power in the economic system and Steve Webster with forms of participatory power in the bureaucratic system.

Steve's paper ends with a question: "Do the planners or the people hold the power?" As I read Steve's question I felt that the people should hold it, so I asked what his nominal group process does in terms of distribution of power? Is it more power to the people or just another way of managing bureaucratic power? I would also like to ask what the participants in that three hour session, people who might like to be somewhere else like prayer meeting, beer drinking, or bowling, get in exchange? Finally, I would ask how this nominal group process in which people were held very closely to "problems" rather than "solutions" fits into an overall program of public involvement. The planning process, including issue or goal formulation, alternative plan development, election among alternatives, monitoring and evaluation, and feedback is a long range activity. What is the public role in the total process? Are the people only trotted in at the beginning to say what the problems are? Then the planners take over, produce the plans, present them, and finally hold public hearings—by which time the plans are already embedded in concrete or at least in committed future actions that are very hard to change?

In response to my own questions I want to make just three points. The first is that participation is not a "free" good. Many planners think that if you open up the planning process to participation you are automatically "a good guy" and you can go on from there without further interference. But people don't just participate for the sake of participation; they expect to get something in exchange for that they give. Mayland Parker paints a rather utopian picture of cooperative, collective economies, but in the societies (both collective and capitalistic) that I am familiar with, people are still motivated by self interest. They expect to get something back for their efforts: more personal recognition, a more responsive bureaucracy, a different corporate structure, or

whatever. We should give consideration to what they get in exchange for coming to these sessions and participating in the nominal group process or any participation process we use.

The second point is that we can classify participation into three basic types. The first is the one-way output type of participation, typical of the public hearing, the instance where a planning report is produced, a newsletter is sent out, a film is presented, etc. This ties in with the notion of "elite" power in which leaders are trying in some way to change people's behavior or are using an "educational" technique to change people's values, their way of thinking. The second type of participation is one way input, which the nominal group process technique achieves. Input may be from organized groups or from single individuals selected to represent groups (citizens at large, local government officials); input from individuals is usually less powerful but apparently is felt by the National Park Service to be more "true." This type of representation is often seen in advisory committees. The third form is simply a combination of the other two, a two way interactive model in which the public and the authorities (planners) work together to identify problems and to find solutions. They share the power. I think that what Mayland was leading to was the kind of society in which that took place. Two way methods that come to mind are workshops or Charrettes.

My third point, then, is that perhaps different stages in the planning process call for different types of participation. Not that one or another type is best but that each type may be useful at some stage. Certainly at the problem/issue identification stage public input is desirable. At the goal formulation stage you need to know what the people want, but they also need to know what the experts believe to be necessary. During development of alternatives, two way interaction will be important. At each stage, a variety of planning methods may be needed—one way input, one way output, and two way exchange.

PART IV

ACHIEVING A MORE LIVABLE RURAL ENVIRONMENT

INTRODUCTION

(By Burton L. Purrington, Associate Professor of Anthropology, Appalachian State University, Boone, N.C.)

The "civilizing" of the American frontier by western Europeans is a relatively recent phenomenon, and, despite rapid urbanization and suburbanization and the decline of farming over the last few decades, Americans still exhibit a "frontier ethic" and strong pro-rural and anti-urban biases. Many social scientists and planners emphasize the need for Americans to adapt and reconcile themselves to the urban environment. Nevertheless, geographically much of the nation remains non-urban, and many people live in these areas including farmers, miners, non-farm commuters, and urban refugees. In fact, although the number of farmers is decreasing, rural populations, as a whole, are increasing. It behooves us, therefore, to address ourselves to the nature of the rural environment and the needs of rural and small town dwellers both farmers and non-farmers.

There is a general feeling in this country that one is closer to nature, that individual freedoms can be more easily realized, that a spirit of community is stronger, and that children can be raised in a healthier environment in the country than in the city. Although much of the idealization of rural America is based on false assumptions, anti-urban biases, and pure nostalgia, there is a basic ring of truth to these attitudes. It is tragic, then, that much of rural America is deteriorating. The natural environment in many areas is being seriously, in some cases irreparably, damaged; housing, health and dental care, nutrition, sanitation, and other services are frequently substandard; and poverty is forcing many rural dwellers to move unwillingly to the city.

The plenary session and five workshops on "Achieving a More Livable Rural Environment" addressed themselves to three major problems: (1) the definition of a rural way of life and rural "well-being," (2) the causes of rural decline, and (3) techniques and methods of improving the rural environment and bettering the living conditions of rural people. This session was led off by observations by Stuart Udall on the present state of the economy and the environment in America and the implications of deterioration in these areas for rural America. In addition Allen Stovall of the Division of Landscape Architecture, University of Virginia, showed and discussed his film, "The Region in Change," an incisive analysis of the experimental and human impact of

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the recreational-speculative land boom of the Appalachians. The workshops addressed themselves to many of the needs of modern rural America which relate to that as yet elusive concept the "quality of life" including health services; social, cultural, and psychological well-being; the natural environment; housing; and general services (infrastructure).

ENVIRONMENTAL IMPLICATIONS OF RURAL DEVELOPMENT

(By Stewart L. Udall, Overview, Inc., McLean, Virginia; former U.S. Secretary of the Interior)

I would like to begin with a poem by Robert Frost which will also say something about my own interests. There has been an on-going argument among environmentalists, which may continue till doomsday, about whether we will ultimately create atmospheric conditions that will create a greenhouse and cook us or whether we will pollute the atmosphere in such a way that we return to the Ice Age and do ourselves in that way. Frost anticipated this forty years ago in his little verse "Fire & Ice:"

> Some say the world will end in fire
> Some say in ice.
> From what I've tasted of desire
> I hold with those who favor fire.
> But if it had to perish twice,
> I think I know enough of hate
> To say that for destruction ice
> is also great
> And would suffice.

The question of the future of rural America and of small towns is one which we need to begin discussing. Most of the "progress" of the last thirty years has worked against rural America. Forty years ago 30% of this nation's people produced the food and fibre for the rest of the country by farming. Then mechanization and cheap energy took over, and, as we know, the secret of the high productivity of American agriculture is not plant genetics it is cheap petroleum. When the machines took over, the young people began to leave rural America because there was no place for them. There was a great wave of immigration to the cities which has become, of course, a principal development around the world. As a whole this trend is probably a tragic one, and yet I want to suggest that it may very well be that today's energy crisis signals a turnabout; that we are perhaps going to have an extraordinary opportunity not only to conserve but to correctly develop small towns and rural America.

We have seen what I believe to be a historic transition, a change from what was thought of and was an age of abundance, I suppose super abundance, to an age of shortages. We are running out of cheap land. The best and cheapest land, the land at the bottoms of the valleys is gone and with it the easy development that could be done in quickie fashion. We are running out of cheap resources and cheap energy and this more than anything else is going to mean enormous

changes in our lives because energy has been the life blood of our whole system. The period when growth, almost any kind of growth, was regarded by the community as a good thing is quickly passing and if there is any one thing that the energy crisis has written large on the wall it is that urban sprawl is over. The pattern whereby people could live in one place and commute to a job thirty or forty miles away and do a round trip of 120 miles as they do in Southern California worked as long as we had cheap gasoline and as long as there was enough of it to go around, but this is coming to a screeching halt and we are going to have to re-think a lot of things.

A few years ago there was a general assumption in large and small towns across the country that any kind of growth—a new subdivision on the edge of the city or a new addition up the nearest hollow—was beneficial to the community because it added to the tax base. Finally we got our eyes off the GNP for a moment and began to look at the economics of urbanization and found that many forms of growth actually added to the tax burden of the people who were already paying the taxes in a given community. This trend is now rapidly intensified because obviously the more spread out you are, whether you are talking about police services or school busses or electric power services or water or sewer or whatever, the higher the cost.

We are just now discovering the full impact of this situation and, with the beginning of state land use planning, we recognize that growth from now on must be controlled and guided, and the right way to do it is through national land use legislation. The states should lay down their guidelines and the local government should make decisions relative to these guidelines. However, we are moving rapidly into a period where we not only need good planning, that has always been necessary, we need above all public officials who are not simply interested in having good plans on the walls to pass out to environmentalists, but officials who are themselves sensitive to the need for implementing good plans to protect their community for very practical reasons. We have suddenly come to see that a lot of the forces that formerly moved under the banner of progress are antiprogress, and I speak of not only the pollution that has come to the valleys and cities but of all the types of development that are destroying our economy, our society, and our values.

Today's environmental movement isn't just concerned with nature; from now on we must be concerned with city environments and the environments of work places. There is a movement beginning that is essentially keyed to the idea that the way to protect the values of people who live in the country, the towns, or the cities is to control what happens to the land. This isn't a new idea, but it has suddenly become respectable and in some cases even politically popular. There are many manifestations of this new movement and in one sense it is more than a concern for land, it is a concern expressed in terms of quality environments that not only relates to our physical environment but to our cultural environment as well.

A key to the protection of our natural, social, and cultural environments is good land use planning and the key to good land use planning is good energy use planning. The science of energy economics, something we do not yet know much about, is going to dominate and dictate

many decisions for the future. The energy crisis, putting it as simply as I can, is the fact that we are running out of petroleum and there is no substitute in sight. This means that in the future we are going to have to be less mobile, the sprawl must end, the second home movement, I guess, is already dead and buried and we are going to have to build more cluster housing, make our communities more compact, provide more efficient forms of transportation, bring back the railroads, and so forth. The future of this country for the next ten or twenty years is going to be dictated by one consideration, energy efficiency, and, as I said, this, it so happens, fits in hand in glove with good land use and with good environmental planning. This means for the automobile industry that the only way that they can survive is to move ahead as fast as they can, because small cars get twice as much per gallon as big ones. It means that our transportation priorities change and we put our money into railroads and public transportation and bikeways and walkways in our cities all of which would save energy and make us more efficient. It means that government, local government, state government, all government must for the first time decide what kind of development is efficient and fits in with this new period of lean energy. This does not mean that we have to have an economic catastrophe. Until the Alaska pipeline was started a year ago the two public works projects in the U.S. that employed the most construction workers were the Washington D.C. Subway and the public transportation system in San Francisco. There is no reason why we cannot restore railroads and build new ones, if we begin to recycle and reuse our wastes, and some of them contain enormous amounts of energy, and recycle our metals and minerals we can create thousands or tens of thousands of new jobs. In short we can prosper while we are making many of these basic changes.

I think that the focus of this conference is very timely and that you are working with history with these new trends beating on the door and saying that we must change. We need more than just good planning, in many ways this country is over-planned, part of making this change is to inject the right kind of politics—environmental politics. What caused the State of Vermont to pass state legislation guiding growth of people was ordinary people, Yankees. Yankees are the kind that in the past said "Leave me alone don't even zone my land. I want to do with my land whatever I want to do with it." But when they saw illplanned development taking place all around them and their own valleys being spoiled then the most conservative members of the community stepped in and got into the political dialogue and things began to change. There is still time left if we begin to act soon and to correct many of the mistakes of the past. To grow and develop in the right way will require us to recognize the new forces that are gathering momentum that will enable us to change the direction of history. We are going to be working with those who want to have the right kind of development and the right kind of living values because this country is in a new situation with its population growth rate at the lowest point in history and with us levelling off in terms of our economic growth. We have a great opportunity in the next twenty or thirty years to learn from our mistakes of the past; to learn to incorporate the finest new concepts of economics, ecology, land and energy use planning and all the rest into the things that we do. A good stiff wind is blowing at our backs, and I suggest that we take advantage of it.

IMPROVING THE INFRASTRUCTURE OF RURAL AREAS

A PANEL DISCUSSION

(By Robert A. Cox, Drug Abuse Council, Raleigh, N. C.)

Robert Cox.—The purpose of this panel as it was presented to me was to permit a practical discussion of approaches to the development of the infrastructure of rural areas. Infrastructure is being defined as broadly as possible. For a way of kicking the thing off, I have picked five ways of looking at investments in infrastructure and I will try to develop those ideas with the people we have here and then have the panel make some comments. Obviously it is best if we can talk about the practical side of dealing with some very big dollar questions as impact questions.

We are at the wrap up of the conference and I think a number of things from my standpoint have been beneficial. Certainly what John Whisman had to say with some of his key words are useful today. He talked about balance, choice, and techniques. My observation about Mr. Udall's remarks last night were that they seemed timely, they seemed to deal with techniques. He was talking about major changes in infrastructure and maybe this morning we can deal with techniques. John Whisman also spoke about scale and scope and rate. I would hope between an architect, a planner, a manager, and all members of this panel, we can deal with those things in a practical way.

The five categories of infrastructure that I think are worth focusing on begin with those kinds of investments that have a direct impact on the cost of production. That's the water and sewer line, access roads, industrial parks, the things that are needed to provide the economic vitality of an area. But there's another type of infrastructure that has an indirect cost on production. That is where not only public funds but a great deal of private investments take place and that includes housing, community facilities, the kinds of things that make civilization possible. When I listened to one of the Farmers Home Administration people yesterday run down a list of twenty-nine FHA eligible activities I realized that forty years ago living in the city in a sixteen foot row house in the city of Philadelphia just two blocks from open country, I had all the things that the Farmers Home Administration now provides.

Continuing with the types of infrastructure, the third area is the application of technology. I think there are investments that are made that deal with technology whether it's in the health field, in human resource development or in the application of natural and manmade resources. The application of technology is part of an infrastructure consideration. For example the kind of energy used for certain kinds of processing is important. The textile industry in North Carolina is

in serious trouble because of natural gas. There are only certain things that can be done right now with the natural gas processing problem. Here we have a very serious infrastructure question involving complex public and private technological issues.

The fifth and final category is just the institutional capability for managing this infrastructure as we designed it, or as we described it. Dick Hartman talked about it at lunch yesterday; council of governments. Throughout this conference we've had different looks at institutional arrangements and what it takes to manage massive amounts of money.

Now a definition. I think part of the problem at these conferences is the inability to understand one another. Jim Spencer talked to this point yesterday. We sometimes are talking to ourselves and not to the right people. Development to me is a change in social conditions; a change in what would be called the welfare effect of economic activities. An example of a welfare effect is seen in an access road to an industrial plant. It not only raises per capita income in that area but those people who lack income or even exposure to the opportunity for jobs are in some way influenced by that economic activity. That is the welfare effect that I'm looking for in economic development and in the development of infrastructure. I would say the major obstacle to rational development, and I believe Lynn Muchmore used the term yesterday, is ignorance. The ignorance of markets, or resources, and of the behavior of people. If we can deal with information about markets, resources and the behavior of people it seems to me that we can make some major strides forward in developing a more rational, satisfying type of environment.

A couple of years ago in a ten county area of Oklahoma, I traced the expenditure of $600,000,000 in federal dollars from thirteen federal agencies. Over a six year period of time, that $600,000,000 had not really made a measurable change in any socio-economic indices. In fact, after six years this area of 163,000 people, still had 25% of its families on welfare, 12% of its labor force was unemployed, 44% of the families had below poverty income. Interestingly, four of the ten counties were among the richest oil producing counties in Oklahoma. Yet the major source of personal income in the area (21%) was in government transfer payments. Farming and manufacturing each accounted for only 7% of the area's income. The policy questions I think this example raises is this: What would have happened in those ten counties over six years if the federal government had not spent $600,000,000? The other question is, if we're trying to be in control of where we're going and we're trying to improve infrastructure—what kinds of investments in the five areas I mentioned previously do we foresee over the next decade so that we can make a measureable change in terms of socio-economic well being.

Sam Ashford.—The theme of this conference "Planning Frontiers in Rural America" has produced a variety of presentations, some of which seem not intentionally to be out of phase or context with the gut realities facing mid-America. Consider these conditions:

According to 1970 census, 73.5% of America's population lives in an urban area, which by definition is a place of 2,500 persons or more.

I have heard here that approximately 90% of our population live in urban places near metropolitan centers.

Lineberry and Sharkansky in their research on urban politics have indicated that 93% of our people draw their incomes from nonagricultural sources.

This information and these perceptions prompt the following questions:

1. How do we planners and architect/planners perceive Rural? And, conversely, how do we perceive Urban?
2. What are the goals and objectives of rural America?
3. What are the conditions of influence that create a need for rural development?
4. In the absence of federal programs (A Hypothesis) can rural America survive?

With this introduction let's discuss how we can improve the infrastructure of rural areas. A better term perhaps might be service systems of rural areas.

Service systems relating to rural development are costly. The cost of providing "stretched" services for rural development does not result in as low a cost per user as in an urban service system. Indeed, in the book "The Use of Land" case studies regarding cost indicate that the pay out cost in some cases are exorbitant and in some cases unconscionable. Also, infrastructure/service/system/delivery is a highly political decision. Consider the typical decision making process in the location of medical care or transportation facilities.

The question in providing service systems is whether growth should follow in place physical infrastructure *or* whether desired planned growth should determine the placement of physical infrastructure. In the case of the Minneapolis/St. Paul metro councils of government—a rural-oriented populace, the plan leapfrogged the immediate developing patterns and established a stated policy of where urban services would be delivered within a given time frame, and based on logical orderly growth patterns. Planners and decision makers prophesized that developer interests would opt for reversal at worst or at the least a stampede for quick hook-ups. The result has been a recognition of the viability of the plan and acceptance of plan objectives and development is now occurring in accordance with the plan.

Usually, governments, especially local governments, do not act until a crisis situation exists. My definition of a crisis situation or crisis demand is simply one in which the capablity or supply has reached or is about to reach exhaustive proportions—if a radio bulletin declared that after 12:00 noon no more johns could be flushed, we would have a crisis situation.

To justify a need for service systems there must be demonstrable evidence that the demand exists. To ascertain accurate cost-benefit projections, for purposes of governmental solvency, we must utilize information retrieval systems and evaluation techniques that correlate the various aspects of the service system. In short, we must problem seek before we structure programs and implement solutions.

Since most rural service systems are extensions of existing urban (municipal) systems or self supportive installation, which foreseeably will experience future demand, we must seek mechanisms for remuneration to allow for equity recapture in cases of annexation where no cost has been incurred by the annexing power. Physical service systems are form givers and as such should be integrated into the

pattern of growth so as not to diminish the physical qualities, quantities, or characteristics of the growth area.

For example: Rural housing standards require for federal financing a paved road frontage. Access to rural housing on public roads and highways should have limited access, i.e., cluster development. Existing development patterns are at a dichotomy with transportation goals and objectives in that they allow or cause increased traffic friction and safety hazards, and render 55 mph highways useless as such by reducing the safe speed limit. The result is the requirement of a new parallel road.

Equally important to growth areas is preserving the existing service system by allowing for recycling or reuse of the land as a tax base for an existing paid for system. Bond monies are going to come harder from now on. If a given service system cost say $1,000,000 and that money represents tax dollars say at 10% of income for all sources then it takes $10,000,000 of earned income to produce the system. If such a system can be avoided the tax generated can be put to wider use for some other service.

Professional organizations of planners, architects and related fields must support competency in government technical and professional staff. We must at least be able to agree on the definitions of terminology. We must, in concert with the government officials, determine and propose modules of growth and development whether residential, educational, commercial, social or industrial, which can be interconnected at some future date to provide a network of service systems at a cost that will not result in a negative or redundant investment for the tax payer user.

We must establish in rural areas through community interaction, whether on a regional, municipal or county basis, where to build and where not to build and to plan and coordinate the delivery of services accordingly.

We must find ways to bring into the decision-making process the design considerations that affect community life. We must ask the question: If this, then what?

We must explore the possible trade-offs between urban and rural areas in the provision of service systems. e.g., it may be more beneficial to sustain existing water and sewer systems, be they septic tank or packaged systems in a rural area, for a county-wide transportation system to more centralized support service facilities.

Jack Linville.—In 1967 I was involved in a significant economic development project in Eastern Tennessee. Promoted by the local industrial hunters and supported with nearly $2,000,000 in federal assistance, the Piney Flats Industrial Park became a reality. Incidentally, of the $2,000,000, 1.5 million went for access roads to the site.

Unfortunately, in 1975 the Piney Flats Industrial park is not a good economic development investment. The initial industry located in the park was an aluminum extrusion plant. The manufacturing process and the noise associated with it was alien to the way of life of the people in East Tennessee. This type of industry was not compatible with the culture of the area. Today, I understand no more than 30 people are employed in the Piney Flats Industrial Park. What went wrong with this noble and costly economic development effort?

Basically, the developers, both public and private, failed to understand the type of change they were bringing to an area.

This type of ignorance—mentioned by Bob Cox in his opening remarks—and discussed by Stewart Udall last night, can be highlighted through another example. In January of this year, under the auspices of the National Science Foundation, the American Institute of Planners, in cooperation with other organizations of environmental specialists, met on the West Coast to examine planning and management systems for achieving a better environment. During the course of our conference, President Ford delivered his State of the Union address. We interrupted our proceedings to listen and were shocked when the substance of his remarks were essentially that this country's future depended on selling more cars, mining more coal, and building more highways. Not once did he mention improving our environment and all of us attending the conference wondered why the Federal government was paying so much for our type of advice. It was hard for us to believe that in 1975 President Ford's prescription for a better country really reflected the best thinking of this nation.

At least Mr. Udall's remarks gave us an opportunity to take a fresh look at today's situation and the foolishness of attempting to build infrastructure without a development policy or at least a system for formulating such a policy.

Infrastructure implies a system of comprehensiveness, coordination, unity in direction and focus and an overall pattern that is discernible. Clearly, we do not have such a system in rural America. What we do have is:

1. Resources and problems unevenly distributed.
2. Local governmental units frequently working at cross purposes.
3. Federal and state rural programs not coordinated.
4. Service levels differing radically.
5. Taxing policies in any given area unrelated to each other and to resources and problems.

One answer to these problems is to improve the institutional capacity of local governments. Counties and municipalities are creatures of the state, and state government has the authority to intervene in their affairs. Land use and human resources are just two areas having deep roots in local government. But where else can planning management and development be influenced. Obviously state government is the answer since they have the power if they only choose to use it. Public interest groups and Councils of Government could intervene at the state level to solve some of the problems being discussed at this conference. Rural America has reached a point of creative crisis.

Dr. Cantine.—I have to start with the question—What are we after, why build an "Infrastructure"? We need a framework or purpose for embarking on such a venture—once you've embarked upon it you are involved in very critical choices which you have to believe in. Choices, which are shaped by the situations you are trying to correct, whether they be net outmigration or excessive net inmigration. As an area becomes more or less attractive vis-a-vis other areas its position in the cycle is extended or accelerated.

What is involved in building the infrastructure; where do you start?

I believe we have to go back to what John Whisman had to say—We're involved in bringing urban services and urban life to the rural

area. Believe me, the taxpayer catches on to this much faster than you can imagine—and he is going to ask "why?"—he is going to point out that as a native of your area he hasn't needed these services all along and why do we need them now to attract "foreigners."

Where you start in this process will differ depending on which situation you're starting with—outmigration, inmigration, status quo; this affects both finances and the priority assigned to different services. However, eventually you have to come to grips with the following:

(*a*) Public understanding and commitment to change identification of the most critical services, i.e., those public and private actions which will have the greatest impact on reversing outmigration, preparing for inmigration, or vitalizing the no-growth community.

(*b*) Determination of the financial capability to undertake the infrastructure development.

(*c*) Establishing who will do what in the overall program, i.e., private, private non-profit, community organizations, city, county, etc.

(*d*) Establishing the managerial capability to see the process through without corruption, waste, or confusion.

What are the pitfalls and impediments?

(*a*) Running off and leaving the people behind you—it will collapse because of the critical choices which are being made which affect their pocketbook and values; it's tough but community involvement and understanding has got to be there.

(*b*) Failure to look at the full cost implications or to adequately sort out the complex finances involved. Let's face it—nothing is free—and least of all government. Thus, you must understand explicitly and in detail your multi-year revenue potential; deal separately with your operating capital costs; be convinced that you can afford to sustain and operate the infrastructure you've put into place; and you must get a commitment on tax policy.

(*c*) Failure to recognize the extreme importance of selecting top notch personnel for leadership positions; you've lost the ball game before you start without them.

(*d*) Failure to distinguish between the critical and the "nifty" public services, i.e., initiating an urban service to build your own ego or just because it sounds interesting; artificially transferring urban services to rural areas when they are only marginal in terms of a major contribution towards the goal of area development.

(*e*) Tendency to over control and restrict options unnecessarily.

(*f*) Existing structure and distribution of authority and benefits, i.e., FHA water corporations.

Some of the major issues guiding decisionmaking on rural infrastructure investment include:

(a) Where do you stop before the attractive features of rural America are lost?

(b) How do you decelerate without causing dislocation?

(c) Could it be accomplished without federal and state grants? What happens if they are cut off?

In terms of strategies we could consider:

Looking at development options such as rural villages;
Utilizing private and community initiatives and capability;
Pursuing governmental cooperation; contrasting, etc.; and
Returning results directly to the taxpayer.

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A BETTER PLACE TO LIVE: RURAL HOUSING CONDITIONS

INTRODUCTION, SUMMARY AND RECOMMENDATIONS

(By Clarence Wright, Housing Assistant Council, Atlanta, Ga.)

Rural America is faced with a tremendous housing problem and challenge. Martin Luther King, Jr., commented on the "housing problem" in America in his 1967 book, "Where Do We Go From Here: Community or Chaos, 'The American Housing Industry is a disgrace to a society which can confidently plan to get to the moon and not successfully provide adequate housing for all her citizens'."

Rural America is the harbinger of the "housing problem" in America. A brief comparison of urban and rural housing conditions will amplify the magnitude of the rural housing problem. Recent Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Relations studies have shown that four out of every five urban residents (81.4%) lived in a sound home with complete plumbing, while only one out of two rural families (56.7%) could claim equally good housing; nearly one-third of all housing units are in rural areas, yet 44 percent of all the housing lacked complete plumbing or had structural defects; approximately 1½ million rural families live in dilapidated structures and another 3½ million live in structures needing major repairs; finally, nearly one out of every five rural households did not have both hot and cold water while over 19 out of 20 urban families had both.

The rural "housing problem" in America is in reality a very complex mixture of many different problems, each problem affecting a particular segment of population and affecting that segment differently. Cushing Dolbeare, Executive Director of the Rural Housing Coalition, aptly described the perceptual differences of the housing problem in America:

> Low-income housing victims perceive one set of problems. Reformers, often, see another. Owners and builders see a third. Finally, governments depending on their level and orientation, see a fourth set. There have been over the years, a number of efforts to unite the perceptions of reformers, builders, and government. Too often the perceptions of the victim have been left out.

Our workshop, "A Better Place to Live: Rural Housing Conditions" reflected the complexity, perceptual differences, frustration and anxiety which is arising out of the growing awareness and severity of the rural housing crisis in America. There were four papers presented in the session with questions, reactions and comments from a panel of discussants and from the full audience. The two papers not published herewith include Arthur Campbell's and Ennis L. Chestang's presentation on "Mobile Home Settlement and Rural Development."

The workshop concluded with an outline of recommendations. They are as follows:

(1) That conferences of this type should be held again to enable people of different backgrounds, experiences, training and regions to share insights. More specifically, workshop sessions on specific problem areas should be planned (e.g. workshops on building codes, mobile homes, etc.).

(2) That a full scale conference on mobile home settlements be held since so many rural areas were being confronted with the rapid growth of mobile home settlements.

(3) That conferences and workshops be planned in a "balanced" fashion to allow for identification of the problems and for in-depth strategizing.

(4) That additional research and study be given to the classification of mobile settlements and to the make up of mobile populations.

(5) That the Housing and Community Development Act be monitored and studied in terms of its implications for rural small towns. It was recommended that more community education and technical assistance programs be set up.

(6) That some agency or college should initiate and distribute an ongoing calendar of rural development conferences, meetings, etc.

(7) That building codes be reviewed and/or amended, if necessary, to allow for rural housing conditions and technological innovation.

(8) That further research be done on the plight of towns falling in the 20,000 to 30,000 population range in getting federal housing monies since these communities do not qualify for FHA assistance yet they are generally too small to compete with towns of 50,000 and over for Housing and Community Development Money.

(9) That new federal legislation and policy comparable to that with an urban focus in the Sixties be developed and funded to support rural housing and community development. The Rural Development Act, much of which has no funding, was used to illustrate the need for a change in federal policy.

MAKING BUILDING CODES FOR THE RURAL COMMUNITY

(By Howard A. Schretter, University of Georgia, Athens, Ga.)

The adoption and enforcement of standards for building construction and housing maintenance are essential for the orderly growth and development of any community and for the improvement of local housing and neighborhood conditions. Where such standards are in effect and are properly enforced, the citizen is protected from structural, fire and health hazards in new construction, and from the vagaries of erratic use and care of existing housing. The community as a whole benefits by the guarantee that acceptable levels of safety, cleanliness and health are built into new structures and maintained in existing units.

Building Codes

These safeguards are commonly referred to as building codes. They are, more exactly, a "family" of separate, yet interrelated, regulations for different aspects of construction. The building code establishes regulations for the types of materials that go into structures and the kinds of construction that are acceptable to provide structural safety. The electrical code regulates the kinds of wiring and electrical equipment that may be put in a building and the manner in which they must be installed, connected and insulated. The plumbing, gas, mechanical systems, fire prevention and other codes have similar functions. The housing code, by contrast, provides standards for keeping existing housing sound and sanitary, equipped with basic facilities, and not overcrowded. In a sense, the housing code is an extension of the other codes, insuring that structures previously approved for occupancy continue to meet minimum standards.

Means are available to all local governments to provide these standards and controls. Cities and counties may voluntarily adopt and enforce codes in their exercise of "policy power" delegated to them by the state. Additionally, a few states, notably North Carolina, Virginia and most recently Florida, have enacted mandatory statewide building codes applicable to all construction in these states.

Large and small communities

The merits of an active code enforcement program in cities and counties experiencing growth or with recognized potentials for development are relatively clear-cut. Codes serve the interests both of the legitimate contractor and the buying public by providing a form of quality control in building construction and facilities installation. The broader public interest likewise is protected against potential hazards of unsafe buildings and the spread of blight caused by unchecked housing deterioration. Also, the efforts of local government to stay on top of land use changes and rapid growth are aided by the required com-

pliance of all construction plans with local zoning and other land development controls and by the coordination of building permit information with property tax records.

The arguments in support of code enforcement by small communities and rural areas with little recent growth or prospects for significant change, though less compelling, are equally valid. Certainly, all people are entitled to some measure of protection of life, safety, and health in housing and other structures, regardless of where they live. Further, in the absence of codes, a jurisdiction has little protection against shoddy construction attracted to an area by its lax controls. While the chances for such unanticipated and unplanned for growth have always existed, their likelihood today are increasing. The high cost of land in many urban and suburban communities is forcing developers, particularly those interested in moderately priced housing, to consider sites in more distant rural areas. The quality of housing built, however, may be undesirable, compromised for the sake of economy—unless safeguarded by local codes. These possibilities, coupled with the increase in development of retirement and vacation home communities in many rural areas, give impetus to the need for local code enforcement. In a word, without a code program, a community has virtually no protection against becoming a dumping ground for inferior housing and other developments excluded elsewhere.

In Georgia, more than 200 local governments have adopted one or more building codes. Only about seventy-five jurisdictions, however, enforce them. Active code programs are found in most counties over 50,000 population and cities over 5,000. Enforcement in most of the remaining jurisdictions typically has been downgraded to the requirement for a permit prior to construction. Even this degree of administrative control is absent, however, in the approximately 300 communities and 120 counties where no codes have been adopted. Overall, upwards of half of Georgia's population lives in cities and counties not protected by construction or housing codes.

The absence of codes, or their lack of enforcement in small communities and rural areas, should not be assumed, however, as a sign of their rejection or repudiation. Many jurisdictions see themselves as not having enough building activity to warrant a code program. Others are reluctant to add new program costs to already strained local budgets. Some with codes, often adopted to qualify for federal assistance programs, lack personnel with skills necessary to mount an effective enforcement program.

The following opportunities and options for code enforcement suggest some of the means by which smaller jurisdictions may establish and conduct successful codes' programs.

Code preparation

The development and maintenance of a set of codes need be neither an expensive nor time-consuming activity. Several model codes, incorporating latest developments in building technology, are available for local adoption in most states, simply by reference. Prepared and kept up to date by national organizations of codes' administrators and other professionals in the building industry, these codes may be purchased by local governments for a modest price. Membership in a

model code organization costs only a few dollars more and carries with it a variety of helpful services. These include assistance in preparing codes for local adoption, training opportunities, technical advice and code interpretations on request. In addition, a number of states, including Georgia, have themselves developed alternative model codes for voluntary adoption by local governments.

Program staff

The staffing requirements for an active program of codes are affected by a variety of factors. These include the number of codes to be enforced, the anticipated volume of work to be performed under each permit issued, the number of existing substandard housing units requiring intensive housing code action, and the fiscal capability of willingness of the governmental body to support the program through either inspection fees or general revenue. As a rule-of-thumb, however, it is estimated that a full-time building inspector likely will be needed when the rate of residential construction reaches approximately 100 single family units per year. If the inspector also is charged with responsibilities for administering a housing code, zoning ordinance, subdivision regulations, and other development standards, the number of new housing starts constituting a work load may be reduced to about 65 units per year.

Clearly on the basis of these guidelines, few small communities can support a person solely to handle building inspections and related activities. The cut-off point in Georgia, for example, appears to be a community of around 7,500 people.

Administrative options

Alternative administrative and staffing arrangements available to smaller places for carrying out code enforcement activities include the following options:

(1) Code enforcement duties may be assigned to existing public employees, with the issuance of required permits delegated, for example, to a clerk's office and the conduct of actual inspections added to the duties of a utilities' superintendent, police chief or fireman.

(2) A person may be hired on a part-time or on-call basis to handle inspections, with permit procedures again administered by an existing public office. Frequently, persons retired from the building trades or presently self-employed are hired to conduct inspections, often for the fees collected.

(3) A third option involves the contracting for inspectional services with a neighboring jurisdiction already engaged in a code program. Most often, this arrangement involves one or more small communities and a county government contracting with the largest of the participating units for codes services to the others.

(4) Finally, one or more local governments may cooperate in the mutual support of a code enforcement program with uniform adoption of common codes, joint employment of inspectional personnel, and the *pro rata* sharing of program cost.

Given these alternative administrative structures, local governments, individually or collectively, may choose their uniquely appropriate course of action based on estimated volume of local building activity, size of community, location relative to the other communities, and the nature of code enforcement activity in the area.

Program cost

The annual cost of a code enforcement program may vary considerably depending upon the type of administrative structure used, the schedule of fees charged for issuance of code permits and the number of permits issued. A small program charging realistic fees and operating through existing, part-time or shared personnel may be entirely self-supporting on monies collected. By contrast, the operating budget of a typical full-time one-man code enforcement program may range from $12,000 to $15,000 per year. Assuming the annual issuance of 100 building permits for new moderately priced houses and another 50 permits for separate repair or mechanical installation jobs, such a program may be expected to generate upwards of half or more of its operating costs in fees. The levying of nominal charges for reviewing subdivision plats and processing zoning change requests could further supplement this total. It should be emphasized, however, that the purpose of fees and other charges collected by code programs are not to support other public programs. Rather, their purpose is to make the codes' activity as self-supporting as possible, and capable of being carried out with as little general tax revenue as is possible.

Finally, it should be apparent that the difference between program costs and fees collected will be diminished by an increase in building activity covered by code enforcement. This has particular significance to smaller cities and counties where a small staff with relatively fixed costs may be able to provide inspection services to several jurisdictions without appreciably impairing its level of service or increasing its overall operation costs.

In the final analysis, however, the question is not, can the small community afford and enforce construction and housing codes, but rather, can it afford not to.

THE INFLUENCE OF INFORMATION SYSTEMS ON USER PERCEPTIONS OF RURAL HOUSING POLICY

(By James Bohland and Arn Henderson, University of Oklahoma, Norman, Okla.)

Creation of policy is as much an art as it is a science. In rural areas problems confronting Americans are complex and involve the interaction of numerous elements of the man-environment system. Economic, social, psychological, and environmental factors must be considered and their relationships synthesized into a workable model if rural policies are to be responsive to the needs and aspirations of individuals in rural environments. The ability to synthesize complex interactions is essential to policy formation and the basis of this creative endeavor is a series of information processes. (Figure 1) These information links are critical at every stage in the creation of rural policy. If at any point in the system information is distorted or barriers to interaction erected, the problem solving effectiveness of policy is diminished.

Information Links in a General Policy Model

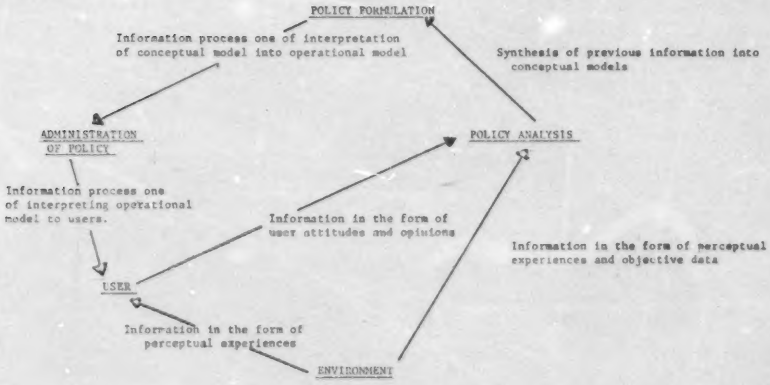
POLICY FORMULATION
Information process one of interpretation of conceptual model into operational model
Synthesis of previous information into conceptual models
ADMINISTRATION OF POLICY
POLICY ANALYSIS
Information process one of interpreting operational model to users.
Information in the form of user attitudes and opinions
Information in the form of perceptual experiences and objective data
USER
Information in the form of perceptual experiences
ENVIRONMENT

FIGURE 1

Time and space do not permit a lengthy discussion of all the information links, despite their signiiicance. The link between users and policy makers is important for it differentiates a philosophy of plan-

ning for people from a planning with perspective. This distinction represents a significant point of departure in development philosophies.

The emphasis in this paper, however, is on the link between the user and the authority charged with administering a particular policy. In this case, the users under consideration are American Indians participating in a subsidized housing program, and the administrative bodies being evaluated are the tribal authorities created to manage the program.[1]

This last link in the policy model has been ignored too often, yet it is of paramount importance because at this stage policy is translated into action, abstractions and legal jargon are converted into obligations and rights. Because of this the potential for creating conflict between users and policy is high at this stage. Misrepresentations or distortions of policy as it is operationalized can make the administration of policy a continual exercise in conflict resolution. Users associations, such as tenant associations, have grown in response to the ineffective information interactions that too often have occurred at this stage.

The nexus between user and administrative agency is the basis for distinguishing between two sub-populations of participants in housing programs: "users" and "utilizers." The term user typically connotes a population that is using or has the potential to use a defined resource. In the housing context a more specific definition is needed, for the allocation of decision-making powers is important. Control over the decisions influencing one's own housing environment is, or should be, an integral part of a user based administrative philosophy. When the decision criterion is included in the management of policy, the individual who has an input, whether direct or indirect, into decisions effecting his or her environment is differentiated from one who utilizes the same environment but has little or no input into the decision process. The first group constitutes a "user" while the latter is more appropriately termed a "utilizer."

An obvious case of the user-utilizer distinction in a housing context is the adult and the child. In the administration of government housing programs the distinction, though more discrete, is very similar. Administrators employing a utilizer concept approach management in terms of stereo-types, economic efficiency, and paternalism, all of which reinforce belief that the information given to participants should be very selective and subject to administrative "editing." In this context participants in development programs become what Grenell has called, "invisible people"—people whom—"officialdom either does not see at all or sees only in terms of quantities of stereo-typed human beings." [2]

If housing policy, rural or urban, is to be effective, a "user" philosophy must be integrated into the administration of the policy. One method of doing so is to make the user and the administrative bodies one and the same. In the case of the Mutual-Help subsidy program this has been done for tribal housing authorities are in charge of the program. Making the user an administrator does not, however, insure

[1] This research was supported by Research Applied to National Needs (RANN) of the National Science Foundation. Grant No. GI–29841.

[2] Peter Grenell, "Planning for Invisible People: Some Consequences" in Turner and Fichter "Freedom to Build," MacMillan, New York, 1972.

the adoption of a "user philosophy." What is important is the way information is distributed to members of the program and to what extent that they are informed of their rights and obligations. Without an effective information system, misconceptions and erroneous interpretations of user rights and responsibilities arise. These will eventually create user dissatisfaction with policy, and development suffers despite a well intended and properly conceived policy of development.

The management of policy is particularly critical with Indians. Most of their existence in the United States has been monitored by one government. Consequently, they are extremely sensitive to a "utilizer" philosophy. Any element of paternalism in the management of a program will evoke user resentment, and thereby reduce the effectiveness of even the most enlightened development programs.

Statement of purpose

The influence of tribal administrative policies on user perceptions of policy is the focus of the empirical portion of this paper. Findings are based on a portion of a larger survey of Indian attitudes towards federal housing programs in rural, non-reservations areas. As a part of this larger survey, participants in the Mutual-Help housing program were interviewed in order to measure their awareness of rights and obligations under the program. The results of this survey are the source for the empirical data used in the paper. Since four tribal housing authorities were administering the Mutual-Help program in the study area, it provided a means of evaluating the influence of the information link between user and administrator on user perceptions of policy.

Rural housing and the American Indian: A basis for policy

There is little need for extensive documentation of the tragic conditions of the American Indian. Most informed Americans are aware that many Indians live in conditions of material poverty. Poverty, poor health, and poor housing are a triad all too real for thousands of American Indians. Most people, however, think in terms of reservations when they think of rural Indians. In truth, in many areas, particularly in a state like Oklahoma, rural poverty and poor housing for Indians does not occur on the reservation, but are found throughout the rural regions of the state.

Indian poverty, when it occurs in the midst of a general environment of rural decline, creates some special policy problems. On reservations the focus of policy is clearly directed towards the Indian. Man and region are inseparable. This is not the case in the rural regions of Oklahoma. Indians are typically not the majority population and consequently, rural development programs are usually managed by the white population. The Indian must compete with the white and black populations for inclusion in these programs of development. Unfortu-

nately, too often different worlds exist in the same space, and there is little interaction. In such environments, programs specific to Indians are necessary if the Indian is to compete with the whites for development resources.

In response to this special need, several special programs have been created to improve the housing conditions for Indians in rural areas. Mutual-Help is such a program. The program, designed especially for Indians, involves in some way three separate federal agencies: The Bureau of Indian Affairs, the Department of Housing and Urban Development, and the Indian Health branch of the Public Health Services. The involvement of three different agencies increases the difficulties in administering the program and makes the information flow between user and administrator more critical.

The Mutual-Help Home Ownership Program is an outgrowth of the self-help program developed by the Bureau of Indian Affairs in 1961. Passage of the Oklahoma Housing Authorities Act in 1965 enabled nonreservation Indian tribes, bands, or nations to establish housing authorities, identical in all ways to those permitted at the city or county level, but independent from their jurisdiction. In effect, parallel housing systems were permitted by the act; one for Indian, one for non-Indian.

Tribal housing authorities, like their counterparts, were empowered to plan, develop, and operate non-profit housing for low-income individuals and families in the tribal lands under their jurisdiction. With this authorization, Indian tribes became the group primarily responsible for administering federal housing programs to their people.

The Mutual-Help program is now one of the more popular housing programs for low-income Indians although frequency of use varies considerably within the state. The variation is in part a function of ability of different tribes to organize and manage the program. Since there are several complex eligibility aspects to the program, managing it requires a well organized, knowledgeable administrative staff. For example, to participate an Indian must provide clear title to at least one and one fourth acre of land upon which to build the house. The sites are usually a part of "trust land," but if an individual has no trust land, they may be "gift deeded" land or the housing authority is empowered to obtain land for the individual. In addition each participant must contribute approximately 400 hours of labor or "sweat equity," for which they receive a credit of $1,250. The means available for fullfilling this requirement vary, and the housing authority must negotiate and monitor the "sweat equity" obligations of the participant. All of this requires an organization that can interpret federal guidelines and work with members of its own tribe.

Administering the Mutual-Help program in the five county area (Figure 2) surveyed in this research are the Apache, Caddo, Kiowa, and Commanche housing authorities. Since the Appaches had no homes

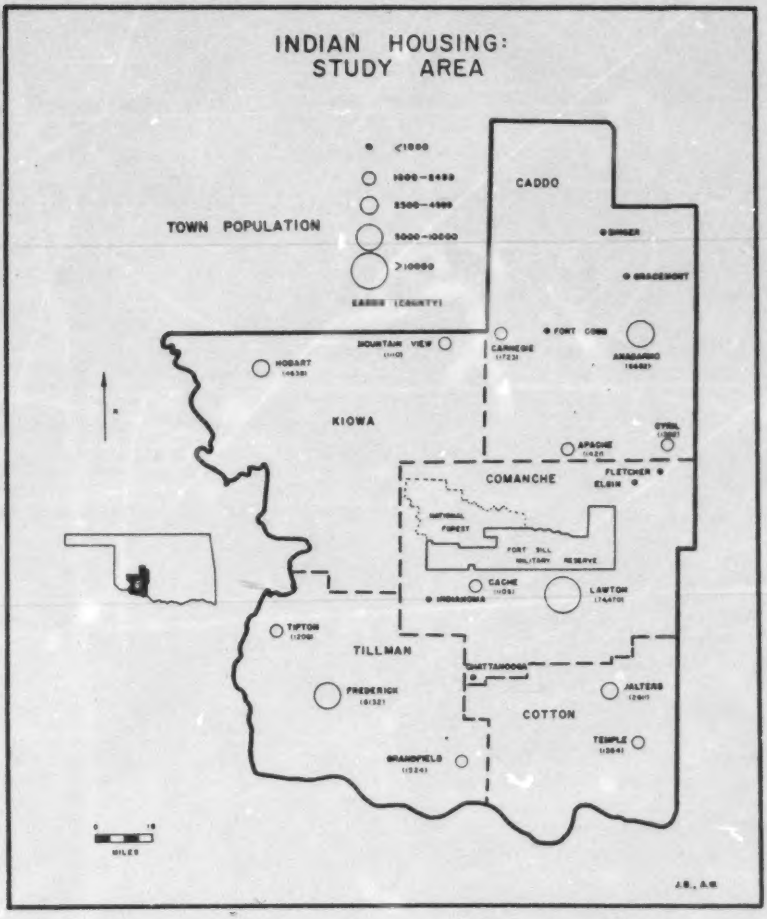

FIGURE 2

under management at the time of the survey, they have been excluded from further analysis. The remaining three were evaluated and ranked as to their ability to communicate information about the program to their constituents. Factors considered in the evaluation were frequency and scheduling of open meetings, size and training of housing staff, frequency of on-site visitations, their publicity efforts for Mutual-Help houses and the sweat equity provisions arranged by the agencies.

Evaluation of housing authorities

On the basis of the criteria established for evaluation, the Caddo housing authority was rated the highest. User responses to questions

directed towards the evaluation of the housing authority support this ranking. From their responses it is apparent that the Caddos have treated their participants in a professional but open fashion. The Commanche and Kiowa authorities were ranked much lower than the Caddos. User responses again support their relative position in the ranking.

To understand the great contrasts that exist between housing authorities, the history of tribal politics must be understood. In Southwest Oklahoma the Kiowa and Caddo housing authorities represent two polar positions in terms of political stability and leadership. The Kiowas were beset with internal turmoil and dissension from the moment the housing authority was formed. Factions within the tribe made charges of graft, fraud, corruption, and general incompetence, which ultimately culminated in a grand jury investigation. Similar allegations were directed to the developers. The Kiowa housing authority has had to defend itself in courts on several occasions and continues to function in an atmosphere of "turmoil and scandal." Understandably, during this period the housing authority experienced an extraordinarily high staff turnover. Over the past several years this periodic unrest has created a climate of mistrust among the Kiowa, a climate which has hampered their effectiveness.

The Caddos, on the other hand, have functioned with a high degree of professionalism from the beginning. They have had none of the problems experienced by the Kiowas. In the initial stages of the housing program they concentrated their efforts on explaining eligibility guidelines to members of the tribe. Later they developed an aggressive outreach program which was designed to correct any faults in construction, provide information on maintenance, and keep participants aware that they were concerned with their problems.

The Commanche housing authority occupies the middle ground in the continuum. They have not been beset with the internal problems that have plagued the Kiowas, but neither have they organized as professional a housing authority as the Caddos. Some of the difficulties with the Commanche program can be traced to interference from city and county housing authorities. Several towns, including the city of Lawton, have not granted the Commanches the right to build within their jurisdiction. Since these places have large numbers of Commanches, this constraint has hindered the development of their program.

User perceptions of policy

One hundred and eighteen Mutual-Help participants were interviewed in the survey conducted in the region. A portion of the interview measured the participants' awareness of their rights and responsibilities under the housing policy. Results of this segment of the survey are present here, and variations due to tribal differences are highlighted.

One indicator of a housing authority's ability to communicate with its constituents is the frequency with which its members use the agency as their major source of information. The probabilities of inaccuracies, distortions, and misrepresentations increase when secondary sources of information are frequent. Dependence on the housing au-

thority for information also indicates confidence in the credibility of that administrative body. If erroneous information is continually transmitted, user confidence diminishes, and the credibility of the administrative body is impaired, soon the policy itself comes under question.

A variety of sources if initial program information were used by Mutual-Help participants. There was also considerable variation between the three housing authorities in the frequency of use of the different sources. Tribal leaders and housing meetings are the primary sources of information for the Caddos. Over seventy percent of the participants listed one or the other of these sources. The "rumor mill" and friends and relatives were unimportant as sources of information. Contrast this with Kiowa participants where almost half (47 percent) relied on secondary sources of information. Housing meetings, the single most important source for Caddos, had the lowest percentage with Kiowas. The poor turnout for housing meetings is particularly critical, for it is here that policies are explained, modified, and guidelines established. It is the one place where "utilizers" of policy can become users as they work out amenable administrative arrangements with the housing authority.

User interpretation of policy

User groups in urban areas, such as tenant associations, have found that many people receiving assistance from federal or state housing programs are poorly informed about their rights. As a results, many low-income residents are unable to take advantage of many of the opportunities made available to them. The responsibility for informing users of their rights rests with the housing agency. Too often, however, this responsibility is neglected.

To test their level of awareness of policy guidelines, Mutual-Help participants were asked to interpret six points of Mutual-Help policy. Their interpretation was compared with the official interpretation of the policy. The variation between the two was viewed as an indication of dissonance between the user and the policy administrator, and taken as a measure of the effectiveness of the administration of the program.

The "yardsticks" of policy dealt with six areas of user rights. The six questions, in the order presented to the participants, were:

1. What is the maximum income level for participation in Mutual-Help?
2. What degree of Indian blood is required for participation in Mutual-Help?
3. What would happen if you were unable to make payments for several months?
4. What rights do members of the housing authority have concerning entrance to your house for official business?
5. Will participants in Mutual-Help eventually have to pay off the entire amount of the mortgage?
6. Can a participant sell the house if they desire?

Participant responses were classified into three classes: (1) answers that accurately or nearly accurately stated Mutual-Help policy; (2) answers that were so inaccurate that a serious misconception of policy existed; and (3) respondents answering "don't know." This last class was used as a measure of how well informed users were of policy. The

inability of participants to state even some interpretation of policy is a severe indictment of the information system of a housing authority.

Since those interviewed had been participants in the program at the time of the interview, it was expected that questions dealing with eligibility, numbers one and two, would be more accurately interpreted. The remaining questions would arise in latter years of participation, consequently, the level of awareness for these expected to be lower.

Responses in the three classes were cross-tabulated by housing authority in order to determine whether administrative procedures had influenced user perceptions of policy. Nonparametric tests for independence were used to validate the significance of any difference between tribes.

The general pattern of responses suggests several conclusions.

First, and probably most important, user awareness of their obligations and rights is extremely low. Remembering that the respondents had been actively involved in the program, it is disconcerting that on the average over one quarter of the individuals were unaware of the program requirements. For example, only 37 percent were aware that there were income constraints on participation. Most of those interviewed felt the only requirement was "Indianness". This misconcept has carried over to the non-Indian community in the region, and has lead to the belief that the program is a "give-away" to Indians. In an environment where the plight of the Indian is not always viewed with sympathy, this type of misconception does not enhance cross cultural co-operation.

A second conclusion centered on within group variation on the six questions. The major area of error in interpretation was with those questions dealing with eligibility, quite the opposite of what had been anticipated. For example, only 37 percent were correct with respect to income criterion and only 7 percent with the blood quantum requirement. The performance on questions dealing with other aspects of the program, while not outstanding, was somewhat better than on those dealing with eligibility. Since respondents had gone through a screening process for entrance into the program, the poor performance on questions of eligibility is difficult to interpret. It would appear that most individuals are only concerned with their eligibility, and if accepted into the program, have little concern with the general guidelines for participation. Also, eligibility is a one time concern. All of the other four questions deal with problems that are on-going concerns. Consequently, users are continually faced with many of these problems, and they form opinions or beliefs on these points very early and maintain them throughout their participation.

Finally the response patterns of the participants support the contention that management of policy effects the users' perceptions of policy. Almost without exception, Caddo participants demonstrated greater knowledge of the program and their rights under the program. The performance of the other two tribes was significantly below the Caddos' performance on most questions. The openness and professional attitude of the Caddo housing authority stands as a model for administering the Mutual-Help program in the region. Their concern with maintaining an effective information system has provided their users

with a sound knowledge of the policy that is influencing that environment.

Summary

The picture that emerges from the empirical analysis is one in which there is little personal contact between user and the authority charged with administering policy. The exception is the Caddo authority. It has created an information system that is open and permits a high level of user interaction. The contrast between their performance and that of the other tribes illustrates the importance of the information link between user and administrator of policy. The intent and value of development policy can be severely diminished when the link is characterized by misconceptions and barriers to interaction. To be effective the user must participate in the decision-making process and be kept informed. When this exists the individual becomes a user of policy rather than an object of its dictates.

RURAL HEALTH DELIVERY

INTRODUCTION

(By Barry Elledge, Appalachian State University, Boone, N.C.)

Health care is increasingly an area of public concern. Health expenditures passed the $100 billion dollar mark in fiscal year 1974, or $485 on a per capita basis. The acceleration in hospital cost and physician fees characteristic of recent years has been marked and prolonged. We spend more on health care than any other nation, yet many would argue that the United States lags behind many other nations in the overall level of health.

While the cost problem of health has been manifest, much of our health care problem is a maldistribution of health facilities and health manpower. Rural areas and city ghettos have experienced a shortage of facilities and manpower, especially manpower. In addition, many critics contend that there has been overbuilding of some hospital facilities and a needless duplication of expensive buildings and equipment. Until 1966 there has been little or no planning for health care needs on an overall regional basis.

What exactly are the health care needs of society and how can they best be met? What exactly does society expect from its health care establishment? What are we prepared to pay for health care? These are questions we must try to answer, for it is becoming increasingly clear that the public is becoming dissatisfied with the high cost of what it is getting. Changes in the financing of and delivery of health care seem inevitable.

The four papers in this section address themselves to the problems of health care in rural areas. The first paper deals with planning for health care by regionals as authorized by the Partnerships for Health legislation of 1966. The second paper deals with the successful efforts of one rural county in attracting new physicians to the county via aggressive recruiting by the business community and also through participation in the National Health Service Corps program. The third paper describes changes in the delivery of health care; namely the increasing popularity among physicians for group practice, the use of physicians extendors in rural health satellite clinics, and the emergence of Area Health Education Centers to decentralize health education. North Carolina has been a leader in these changes. The fourth paper, not published herein, deals with the necessity of having adequate information in planning for health care; especially the need to identify what the people of a region perceive their own health needs to be. All four papers point up the problems of rural health care, and the changes that are under way in rural health.

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COMPREHENSIVE HEALTH PLANNING AND THE ROLE OF THE REGIONAL HEALTH COUNCILS

(By Charles E. Moeller, Director, Regional Health Council of East Appalachia, Morganton, N.C.)

We, who have been involved in the comprehensive health planning process from its inception, have constantly been confronted with a lot of changes—often very good—but very often for the purpose of changing or maintaining organizations; simply, for the purpose of maintaining the organization. As you know, in 1966 the Partnerships for Health legislation was passed. This legislation established a network of planning agencies across the United States and in the years since that time these agencies have tried to plan for health. I've been involved in rural health for about six years now. My undergraduate degree was in rural sociology with an advanced degree in health planning. I have followed with great interest over the last ten years the development of health and health concerns in rural America. The one thing that I've noticed is that we are never without change.

As I read the original legislation, I could see a lot of possibilities, but unfortunately as so often happens, Congress did not provide what I consider to be the resources necessary to carry out the process. Many of the agencies, especially rural agencies, were established in areas where they had insufficient population to provide the resources to do the job, very often the area was put together on a hit and miss basis, mainly on political consideration and not based on the actual health service catchment area. As a result, through the years of CHP there has been quite a struggle.

Two years ago, the Department of Health, Education and Welfare decided to carry out an assessment of all the existing 314–B comprehensive health planning agencies. This assessment has been pretty well completed. It pointed out some serious deficiencies within the health planning field. For example, many agencies did not have the resources to do the job adequately and second, they were not established in areas that could fully serve health planning needs. New legislation was proposed as a result of the 1974 CHP agency assessment program and, of course, the existing health planning legislation was about to expire. Congress, after considerable discussion, passed Public Law 93–641, the Health Planning Resource Development Act of 1974. This Act is resulting in considerable health planning reorganization throughout the country. We expect there will be somewhere in the neighborhood of 200 to 250 health systems agencies (HSA's). These agencies will cover multi-county regions throughout the United States. For the first time there is a minimum population configuration which is generally being held at 500,000. The HSA's can go below that population requirement if there is proven need. Here in North Carolina we will

probably end up with somewhere in the neighborhood of six HSA regions. Each HSA region will have in excess of 500,000 population. For you who are familiar with the western end of the state, we expect that the final configuration will be the Governor's planning regions, A, N, C, D, & E. This is approximately everything west of Hickory, North Carolina. That is a lot of geography and a lot of hills to cover. Because of the area size, I am sure we are going to see many administrative problems. On the other hand, I do see a lot of common concerns and a lot of real opportunities. There are also several proposals that would include the Charlotte and Winston-Salem area. We, who have been involved in health planning at the local level, are resisting that kind of configuration. If we are going to be able to serve the people in the rural areas of the U.S., we should try to configure our areas so that there is a realistic health planning area with common concerns. Of course, many of our patients do go to Charlotte and Winston-Salem for tertiary care and related services, but in a brief study, we found that approximately 93% of the population within the regions A B,C,D, and E actually secure all of their health care services within that area; therefore, we think we have a configuration of counties that will allow us to carry out health planning in the rural area.

The Appalachian Regional Commission 202 Demonstration Project is part of our program. The RHCEA involves two programs. We function both as a 314–B Health Planning Agency, as well as an Appalachian 202 Demonstration Area. We expect the Appalachian Regional Commission Program to continue, and as a result, there will be opportunities through the ARC Funding to carry out rural health development. The rest of the HSA Areas in North Carolina will not have that advantage.

What I'd like to do today is review for you what this health planning legislation means to rural America. Since we're talking about rural concerns, I'll point out some of the pluses that are included in this legislation for the rural areas. First of all, I mentioned that we will have somewhere in the neighborhood of 200 to 250 HSA's in the U.S. As I pointed out earlier, they need to be established in geographic regions which are appropriate to health care planning. I mentioned the 500,000 population requirement. There will be, I am sure, a few exceptions however, I don't see any here in North Carolina. The boundaries of these agencies should try—where possible—to coincide with the Professional Standards Review Organizations (the PSRO's), and the regional planning bodies. Here in North Carolina, we have 17 planning regions established by the Governor in 1970. Of course, we will cover the Governor's Planning Agency A, B, C, D, & E. We cannot split SMSA's, the standard metropolitan statistical areas.

Our role will be, of course, to gather the necessary data to carry out the health planning process. Mrs. McElyea is going to have some comments later on about what we might do in terms of data and information systems for health planning. I am convinced that we have tried for a long time to plan without really knowing what we are planning for and knowing what kind of information was necessary for planning. We need to establish more firmly our goals and the planning objectives. We will be responsible for development of

health care systems. One of the reasons for strengthening the health planning process and to increase the funding level was to allow these agencies to go out and hire the people who are technically competent to do the job. In the past, because we have had limited resources, we have often hired people that didn't have a background in health planning. We just throw'em out into the health field and expect them to do great things, and it just doesn't work.

We will continue to have review and comment responsibilities. Review will be under Section 1122 of the 1973 Social Security Amendments. Any facility that expands their facility or services will be required to undergo 1122 review. We are involved today with the regional organizations, i.e., the Council of Governments in North Carolina, in the A–95 process. In the new health planning legislation there is a provision for rate review. Initially, I think there will be six states in the country that will be involved in rate review. I hope North Carolina is not one of the first. There will be a state agency as we have today (referred to the A agency in North Carolina). They will be more in the coordinative role, and will be responsible as today for 1122 reviews. Some of the other important elements of this legislation include developmental funding. There have been two federally funded agencies that have been in a related way involved in health planning by provision of resources for health development. One is the Regional Medical Program and the second is the Hill-Burton Program. Under the Public Law 93–641 the health planning process, Hill-Burton and the Regional Medical Program will be lumped into one program, which has its pluses, because there will be better coordination for development. On the other hand, I happen to be a little bit concerned because I find that when an agency such as ours is responsible for planning, assisting an organization to develop an application, reviewing it, and then involved in funding, there tends to be the possibility of conflict of interest. We have this tendency when we're too deeply involved in the development of a program and think that it's the best one without objectively looking at alternatives.

HSA's will have developmental monies and through this legislation there is specific provision for resources going to our rural areas. Out-patient facilities are an example—not less than 25% of developmental monies must go into rural, medically under-served areas. We cannot and will not see all the HSA development money go to the large metropolitan areas that in the past have been able to corner much of the funding. There will be money to modernize hospitals. General provisions allow 75% of cost to be covered. Under specific instances, a rural community hospital may receive 100% money. There will be many excellent opportunities to help our rural communities evolve plans and then do something tangible about health care problems through system development. I think that you, who will have an opportunity to work with HSA's, should be very much aware of that opportunity. You should also be aware that we sometimes allocate money toward wrong priorities, especially, when we are involved in need assessment as well as development. Unfortunately there are a lot of people who are saying, "Oh Boy! after January 1, we are going to have all this developmental money." The Feds are expecting that

no HSA in the United States will be able to utilize development money during their first two years of operation. What they're saying is that we must have a plan first.

There are all kinds of ideas as to what a health plan really is. I've been involved in health planning for almost six years and quite frankly I can't tell you specifically what an adequate health plan is. Each agency seems to have its own plan concept. I would like to believe that agencies such as the Regional Health Council, or those agencies that have had the ARC (Appalachian Region Commission) experience, may be a litle bit ahead of the game because we have each year—over the last six years—developed a health plan which was used to support ARC funding. I see some real problems with it and I think that our agencies are going to have to work very closely with each of our counties, with each of our communities, with the health planning agencies that surround us, and with our state agencies in development of a comprehensive plan. If we don't start at the local community level, we are going to cause more problems than we are going to solve.

A good example of poor long term planning is Polk County, North Carolina. The Appalachian Region Commission through the RHCEA, assisted in the development of emergency medical services. We were able to help the County buy equipment and we are helping support manpower to carry out EMS. That's great, because they have an excellent emergency medical service system for a rural county. The problem is that next year Appalachian money runs out. It's going to be interesting to see whether that County can come up with the money to support a full-blown EMS system. We really didn't plan for an ongoing system and future funding. I can criticize we planners, because we did not sit down with County leaders and say this is what you can do today and this is what you're going to have to support three or four years from now. You can plan and develop in an urban area that has greater resources and do a lot of innovative things. In the rural areas somebody is going to have to pick up the tab after developmental money runs out. We who are concerned about rural America had better be conscious of what we are doing to the rural community and I underscore what we're doing to them. We better do it with them, and help them understand what it means to their future health care system.

RECRUITING PHYSICIANS IN A RURAL AREA; THE ROLE OF THE NATIONAL HEALTH SERVICE CORPS

(By Webb Smalling, Wilkes Chamber of Commerce, Wilkesboro, N.C.)

The topic assigned to me for comment today centers on the National Health Service Corps program. But in reality, the National Health Service Corps is only one important part of a community's efforts to successfully recruit physicians. To put the role of the National Health Service Corps into perspective, one should view the total community program from its inception.

In 1969, the Wilkes Chamber of Commerce was reorganized. This in itself did little for Wilkes County, but the end results of this reorganization have resulted in an all-out effort to meet the actual needs of our area. The Wilkes Chamber, like many other volunteer organizations, had become locked into a comfortable "committee" structure. Over the years, countless committees had been organized to deal with immediate problems. And the committees, like many governmental agencies, refused to go away when their task was accomplished.

The President of the Chamber at that time, Vernon Deal—Chairman of the Board of Northwestern Bank, agreed to abolish all committees and all organization. Then the Chamber entered into an agreement with the Institutional Research Services of Appalachian State University to conduct a survey among the people of Wilkes County to determine what the citizens of Wilkes actually felt our major problems were. The results of the survey clearly pointed out one major goal of the Chamber. Simply stated, that goal was to obtain physicians.

Wilkes at that time was no different from many rural areas of the nation in that we did not have enough physicians to even see our people. Hard-pressed physicians had, in effect, closed their practices for they simply couldn't handle any more patients. A great number of people were driving to Statesville or Winston-Salem in an effort to get medical treatment. Something had to be done, and done quickly.

The first effort by the Chamber was less than successful. A committee was formed to develop ways of attracting physicians, and quickly bogged down because too many spoons were trying to stir the same pot. Different segments of our local society believed the physicians securement effort should be attacked, or not attacked, from different points of view. The doctors saw the problem one way, the hospital trustees another, the average citizen had yet another view. The situation might be compared to forming a committee to rewrite the Lord's Prayer, placing every conceivable denominational representative on the committee, and giving each one of them a veto power. The results were

predictable. After one year, the situation was that the Chamber had publicly entered the ball game, stepped to the plate, and went down on three strikes. Clearly a new approach was needed.

A new group was formed which somehow acquired the title of the Physicians Securement Committee. But there were very few members appointed to the committee. Simply stated, the private business sector of Wilkes County had made the decision to recruit physicians and *not* seek a consensus of opinion among existing agencies, institutions, or professional groups. This approach, to be frank, did not win many friends in some local quarters, but it did produce results.

The Physicians Securement Committee was given $2,000.00 per year to achieve their goal. They identified prospects and chartered airplanes to fly the prospects into Wilkes County. The committee picked up all expenses of the visiting doctor and his family, motel, food, rental cars, everything.

The business-like salesmanship approach has resulted in six physicians locating their private practice in Wilkes County since 1969. In addition, a new door of opportunity opened, and this door has resulted in yet another physician to serve our people. The door to which I refer is the National Health Service Corps.

Almost three years ago, the Executive Director of the Blue Ridge Opportunity Commission (BROC) suggested that the Chamber and the community action organization investigate the merits of a National Health Service Corps project for the Wilkes, Ashe, and Alleghany County area. After looking at the program in depth, BROC and the Chamber joined hands to put the program into effect. I would point out that the private sector and community action organizations, in many communities, are not extremely close. So, the joining together of these two organizations to achieve a community goal was in itself quite a revolution.

But the mere agreement to become involved in a National Health Service Corps project presented a host of other problems. For example: The local fiscal sponsor, in this case the Chamber, was called upon to participate financially in the project, to bear financial deficits if need be. The Wilkes Chamber of Commerce was in no financial position to do this. The recruitment effort of the Chamber had already grown to the point that the costs of recruiting physicians was straining the Chamber's budget. Increased financial support, in the amounts needed, was almost out of the question due to the fact that businesses or individuals must justify the money they place with the Chamber as a "business expense." We were advised that if corporations or individuals donated the amounts of money needed to expand the physicians securement program and enter the National Health Service Corps project, the chances were the Internal Revenue Service would disallow the gifts. In short, the amounts of money needed by the Chamber could not be justified from the donor's standpoint as a legitimate "business expense."

The need had been identified, more physicians. The tools were at hand to accomplish the project, the Chamber's Physician Securement Committee, the Blue Ridge Opportunity Commission, and the National Health Service Corps. What we needed at this time was a vehicle to

transport us to our common goal. That vehicle was the Wilkes Chamber Foundation, Incorporated.

The top business leadership of Wilkes County spent many months, with top legal advice, putting together the Wilkes Chamber Foundation and obtaining the tax-exempt rulings from state and federal governments. The Foundation is a charitable institution, and gifts to the Foundation are deductible as charitable gifts. With the vehicle in position, the Wilkes business community responded. Corporations and individuals contributed substantial amounts of money to the Foundation, which in turn allowed the Foundation to enter into an agreement with the National Health Service Corps and the Blue Ridge Opportunity Commission. To date, I am happy to report that our vehicle has proved to be well-constructed and is transporting us to our destination.

Perhaps a few remarks would be in keeping at this time regarding the mechanics of entering into an agreement with the National Health Service Corps. The Corps, under the U.S. Attorney General's office, gives physicians and health-care personnel an option to military service. In lieu of military service, a physician may sign a contract with the Corps to serve a basic two-year "hitch" in an area which has been designated as a critical health need area. While the physician is under legal obligation to the National Health Service Corps, it has been our experience that every effort is made to locate the physician in the area where he will be most happy. This policy is to the benefit of the local community, in that one naturally hopes the physician will remain in the community when his legal obligations to the Corps is fulfilled.

The first step in the National Health Service Corps program is to become certified as a critical medical need area. In our particular case, the Blue Ridge Opportunity Commission did the research and field the application to become a National Health Service Corps area. After approval, the National Health Service Corps enters into what is called a "Memorandum of Agreement" with the sponsoring agencies, in our case the community action organization and the Chamber Foundation. The areas of responsibility are carefully defined, both administrative and financial. I would like to emphasize at this time, however; that, based on our experience, a local community need have no fear of the National Health Service Corps being a tinkering and demanding bureaucracy. The Corps is refreshingly nonbureaucratic and requires very little "paper work" from the local level.

Under the aforementioned "Memorandum of Agreement" there are two methods of financing the National Health Service Corps personnel assigned to an area. These are called "Option One" and "Option Two." Under the first option, the National Health Service Corps, agrees, basically, to share any "deficit" incurred by the local community. Under option two the community assumes total financial liability.

In Wilkes County, we chose to assume the total financial obligation. We did this for one reason, we thought the National Health Service Corps physician assigned to Wilkes had a good chance of making money rather than operating a subsidized practice. And, if any monies are earned, at the end of the program these monies may be used in local health programs.

After being certified as an area of critical need and executing the memorandum of agreement, the Health Service Corps begins to send prospective physicians into your area for interviews. These interviews are a two-way street. The physician usually looks at most of the geographic areas where there is an opening, and states his desire of assignment. Likewise, the community has the option of privately saying to the Health Service Corps that they would prefer another physician, rather than "Doctor So-and-So."

When the physician is assigned and his arrival date is set, the local sponsoring agencies must mechanically set up a medical practice. In our case, the Wilkes Chamber Foundation established a "medical services account" in a local bank. These advance monies were listed as an obligation of the new doctor's practice. The monies were used to purchase medical equipment, remodel offices, and hire nurses and receptionists.

When the doctor began his practice all receipts were deposited in the "medical services account" of the Chamber Foundation. All expenses of the practice were paid from the Foundation "seed" money and eventually from the office receipts. As the practice began to make money, the Chamber Foundation is being reimbursed for the "seed" money used in establishing the practice. Under this arrangement of complete community financial support, the National Health Service Corps bills the local community every three months for the doctor's salary. In reality then, the local community organization and the Chamber Foundation pay all bills, including the doctor's salary, and if there are any profits at the end of the doctor's term-of-service, these profits will go back into local medical programs.

A family practitioner who was a member of the National Health Service Corps did agree to locate in Wilkes County. Within a matter of months, over 2,000 of our citizens again had a physician.

The National Health Service Corps has proved to be yet another source of physicians for Wilkes County. The partnership between the Foundation and the Blue Ridge Opportunity Commission has been an asset to the people of the county. And the "proof of the pudding" is in the fact that we have six new doctors since 1969.

Perhaps in many communities we are guilty of not pooling our resources. Perhaps we are guilty of saying that "government can do the job," or "the medical society," or any other organization. I would encourage any rural area needing physicians to mobilize its total resources and not to forget that the private business sector is one of those resources. The talents, organizational ability, and financial resources of the business community should not be ignored or overlooked. The partnership approach has, and is, working in Wilkes County. I would submit that it will work in the great majority of rural areas.

RURAL HEALTH SATELLITE CLINICS AND AREA HEALTH EDUCATION CENTERS IN NORTH CAROLINA

(By James C. Leist, Wake Forest University, Winston-Salem, N.C.)

What I have to say relates a great deal to what Mr. Smalling has said about the physician recruitment program in Wilkes County. I think it is very commendable that a community can rid itself of a dysfunctional committee system and call upon the various community resources to solve a problem. I'm going to suggest some other ways that can supplement what Wilkesboro has done and some other methods of impacting on health care and its accessibility in the rural community.

It's very appropriate to have the satellite clinic concept and the Area Health Education Center Program on the same agenda because the satellite clinic concept deals with a delivery mechanism (or a change in the delivery mechanism) of health care and the Area Health Education Center programs deal with a change in the educational system for health providers (health manpower). My contention is that changes in both the delivery system and the educational system in medical education, are necessary if we are going to respond to the health care needs of the rural and inner-city populations. Although this conference is on the rural community, it is important to note that similar types of problems exist in areas like Winston-Salem and Charlotte. The problems are the same, but the communities are a bit different. So it's significant that we are talking about changes in the delivery mechanism with satellite clinics and changes in the educational systems via the Area Health Education Center Program. The changes are complementary and, it is my contention that both must occur for us to have an impact on accessibility of health care, particularly in a rural community or within a metropolitan area.

Let me talk for a moment about the delivery system changes that occur. Two of them seem to be most important. One is the development of group practices, which is one way of enhancing the efficiency of our present system. The solo practitioner, in many instances cannot survive in smaller communities. They are a physician 24 hours a day, seven days a week. Even the hardiest person, the most dedicated individual cannot survive at that pace. So I am suggesting to you that probably group practices are one way of enhancing efficiency. For example, economies of scale are gained through the formation of these group practices, with a single administrative support system.

There is some evidence that suggests the professional interaction among individuals which occurs in group practices is very appealing to young physicians. The opportunity to relate to colleagues for consultation and continuing education, and frankly, for the opportunity to cover them when they need a day off for some rest and relaxation, is

important. I think group practice also has some advantages for the communities and the patients as well. If a group practice is operated effectively, it seems to me, that a patient can have access to a doctor 24 hours a day, seven days a week, if the need is there. Theoretically, there is always someone covering in a group practice. That may not be true of an individual solo type of practice. Therefore, group practice has some advantages over solo practice and is a trend of the future. That's one change in the delivery mechanism.

One other change that is of some importance is the satellite clinic. Here again, a group practice can further influence the delivery of health care by establishing satellite clinics, and using a physician extender to staff the satellite clinic. A physician extender is an individual trained in less time than a physician but able to provide medical care under the supervision of a physician. They are commonly called a physician assistant, or nurse practitioner. In the state of North Carolina there are three educational programs for physician extenders operated by the three medical schools; Duke University Medical School, the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, and the Bowman Gray School of Medicine.

A physician has the responsibility for a physician extender and can use that physician extender in one of two ways. They can use the physician extender in their office to perform several routine tasks the physician nomally has to perform. Thus they can increase the number of patients they are able to see and potentially, increase the quality of care provided by allowing both the physician and the physician extender to spend more time with the patient. But in the satellite clinic concept a physician may use the physician extender to establish a clinic in a location away from the physician's main practice and allow the physician extender to see the patients on a regularly scheduled basis. The physician is still responsible for the physician extender and the activities the physician extender performs in seeing patients. The physician extender should be able to communicate with the physician at all times while they're seeing patients, although they generally work under a set of standing orders that are established by that particular physician. Basically the satellite clinic is a mechanism for providing health care in two locations with one physician. In other words, to meet the accessibility problem, people in a smaller community perhaps ten or fifteen miles away from the physician's base are served by the physician extender in the satellite clinic. The physician is responsible for the physician extender and must review the medical records of the patients that the physician extender sees every day. In some cases the physician will see some of the patients personally.

This concept has been working quite well in North Carolina. I call your attention to an article in Appalachia Magazine (Oct./Nov. 1974 issue). This issue has a very descriptive article about the satellite clinic concept. It is called "The Farmington Medical Center: The Doctor Is a Nurse." The Farmington Clinic is operated in the Davie County community of Farmington. It developed based on the community's organization and request for some kind of assistance for medical care. The physician backup for the clinic in Farmington (and in East Bend, N.C.) comes from the Bowman Gray School of Medicine, Department of Community Medicine. Every day a physician travels to the clinic

in the afternoon to see some patients with the physician extender and review the day's activities via the health record. That physician at the School of Medicine has responsibilities for the daily activities of that physician extender. That's the satellite clinic concept as established in North Carolina and one way of using the new kind of health manpower; the physician extender.

Those are two changes in the delivery system. There are several other changes in the delivery mechanism which are important but untimely for today's program. In my opinion these two changes mentioned can have and already have had an impact on accessibility on health care in rural North Carolina.

The second change that is necessary is in the educational system of health providers. We are already developing the physician extender, a new type of health provider. That is one change in which the medical schools in this state have provided leadership since 1970. Presently a new program called the Area Health Education Center Program is being implemented in North Carolina. It is designed to decentralize medical education in our state. The purposes of the Area Health Education Center program are to increase the number of physicians in our state, to improve their geographic distribution, and to improve the productivity and effectiveness of the existing health providers through a comprehensive program of continuing education. The first purpose of the AHEC Program is to increase the number of primary care physicians in the state.

We are doing that in two ways. First, the three medical schools have agreed to expand their entering classes and give priority consideration to North Carolina residents. Second, the three medical schools are establishing some 300 new residency positions in primary care fields (family practice, general internal medicine, general pediatrics, obstetrics, and gynecology). The purpose of additional residency positions is to produce more physicians in primary care who may stay in North Carolina. Studies have shown that location of residency is an important factor in where a physician will decide to locate. If we lose those 300 physicians to out-of-state residency programs, the chances of those doctors returning to North Carolina are lessened.

The Bowman Gray School of Medicine is establishing a new Department of Family Medicine. This deportment could be significant in terms of its impact on keeping physicians in our community. By establishing a Family Medicine Department we are introducing into the Medical Center a role model which heretofore had not existed. What we have trained in our medical schools has been the highly specialized physician who was capable of providing a highly specialized care. A role model for the family practitioner providing primary care, the kind of care the people in our communities are sensing a need for at this point, has not existed in many medical schools until recently. This exposure to a new role model within the Medical Center may have a positive impact on encouraging young physicians to accept family practice as an area of specialization.

Along the same line, physicians and residents are beginning to take part of their training outside of the Medical Center. Again, we have an exposure to a different kind of role model than the traditional model in the medical school, an exposure to the family practice or the

family physician in community hospitals. It's amazing to observe informally the change in perceptions of the medical students after their community medicine rotation. What seems to occur is almost a complete change in attitude, or at least an appreciation for what physicians in a small community have to deal with on a day to day basis. So through the rotation of medical students, and residents into smaller communities, we hope to have an impact on the geographic location as well as specialty of a particular kind of physician.

In the third major objective we are talking about a massive program of continuing education not only for physicians, but for all levels of health manpower, to increase their productivity and effectiveness with perhaps modern techniques or just updated information needed to conduct their job in their community. Therefore the AHEC Program will have an impact on the physician and other health manpower in the rural communities and their accessibility to rural patients.

I would like to conclude by summarizing the major thrust of this presentation. It is my impression that we are going to be effective in providing accessible health care to rural communities. We may not see a doctor in every community, but see physician extenders. We may see more emphasis on preventive care. We certainly will see some changes in the education of health providers. The point that I'm trying to make today is that there will be some changes in the delivery mechanism, such as the satellite clinic concept, such as group practice and there will be a number of other changes in the educational system. I think there's a ray of hope here in North Carolina because I think the state has provided some leadership in both of these areas. There are changes in the delivery mechanism in our state.

There are changes in the educational system; the medical schools have provided considerable leadership in this area. Frankly, it's a very exciting time to be a part of medical education in North Carolina during this era.

PLANNING AND THE RURAL WAY OF LIFE

INTRODUCTION

(By Don Anderson, Mars Hill College, Mars Hill, N.C.)

The two papers that follow focus on the "Rural Way of Life," but they differ radically as to the specific issues being considered.

The initial paper, "Rurality and Psychological Well-Being: A Literature Review and Proposal for Further Research" by Christopher Smith, intends to formulate a research design to study the relationships between rural living and psychological well-being. Most people, rural and urban, prefer to live in rural areas. However, to Smith, this preference raises significant questions only first rate research can answer. How can rural environments be described and classified? And how can we investigate the contribution to human well-being of rural living? Pointedly, Smith is desirous of knowing the extent to which the vision of rural life corresponds with the reality of rural living.

The second paper, "Revitalizing Rural Cultures: A Case for the Development of Rural Ethnicity" by Burton Purrington, abandons the "ethical neutrality" stance characteristic of much social science. Purrington argues, with considerable emotion, that the decline of rural culture is maladaptive for both rural and urban people. He further identifies the forces that facilitate the collapse of rural cultures and delineates strategies necessary to resist further disruptions.

RURALITY AND PSYCHOLOGICAL WELL-BEING: A LITERATURE REVIEW AND PROPOSAL FOR FURTHER RESEARCH [1]

(By Christopher J. Smith, University of Oklahoma, Norman, Okla.)

A pervasive image held by city dwellers is that a rural environment provides a humane setting, one which is generally favorable and therapeutic as a place to live. Thus, the 'rural way of life' [2] has been associated with positive attributes such as simplicity, physical and mental health, a spirit of independence, and a hard-working life-style.[3] On the other hand, some recent literature has suggested that such an image of rural life is largely illusory. Rural residents and particularly farm dwellers, have been shown to be much more conservative than city dwellers,[4] and rural living has been associated with poor adjustment, a lack of independence, and low self-esteem.[5]

To investigate the image of the 'rural way of life,' this paper proposes a study of the relationships between rural living and psychological well-being. The first section will serve to put the proposed research into context, by discussing some recent findings on residential preferences. The second section of the paper, in the form of a critical literature review, describes some of the problems one might expect to encounter in research of this type; and the third section outlines the proposed areas of study.

RESIDENTIAL PREFERENCES—THE RURAL IMAGE

Several recent studies have demonstrated that under ideal circumstances a majority of individuals would choose to live in a rural environment.[6] Recently, Henderson and Bohland [7] have replicated these

[1] This paper is a revision and development of one read at the conference. The author would like to thank Robert Hanham, James Bohland and Tom Wilbanks for their comments on earlier versions of the paper.

[2] The terms "the rural way of life" and "rurality" are used in quotes to indicate that the researcher is not sure that such entities exist. The purpose of the proposed research is to identify what attitudes, perceptions and behaviors are associated with living in "rural" areas—which also need to be defined.

[3] See for example T. Lynn Smith and Paul E. Zopf, "Principles of Inductive Rural Sociology." Philadelphia, Pa.: F. A. Davis Company, 1970; Nels Anderson, "Aspects of the Rural and Urban," Sociologica Ruralis, Vol. 3 (1963), pp. 8–32; and Don S. Kirschner, "City and Country: Rural Response to Urbanization in the 1920's." Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Pub. Co., 1970.

[4] F. K. Willitts: R. C. Bealer and D. M. Crider, "Levelling of Attitudes in Mass Society: Rurality and Traditional Morality in America." Rural Sociology, volume 38 (1973), pp. 36–45.

[5] N. A. Polansky, "Powerlessness Among Rural Appalachian Youth," Rural Sociology, volume 34 (1969), pp. 219–222; A. M. Barban (et al.), "A Study of Reisman's Inner—Other Directedness Among Farmers," Rural Sociology, volume 35 (1970), pp. 232–243.

[6] See for example James T. Zuiches and Glen V. Fuguitt, "Residential Preferences: Implications for Population Redistribution in Non-Metropolitan Areas," in "Population, Distributon and Policy," Washington, D.C. Government Printing Office, 1972, pp. 617–631; and Edgar W. Butler (et al.) "Moving Behavior and Residential Choice: A National Survey" Report 81; National Coonerative Highway Research Program, Highway Research Board, Washington, D.C.: National Academy of Science, 1969.

[7] Arn Henderson and James R. Bohland, "Housing and Community Alternatives for American Indians. A final report submitted to the National Science Foundation Research Applied to National Needs: Grant Number, GI–29841, Univ. of Oklahoma, 1974. As the authors noted, this sample was biased toward rural residents, but the result are similar to those in nationwide studies, see Butler, op. cit., footnote 6.

findings in a study of Indians in Oklahoma which shows that 72.6% (n=212) of the respondents in the study stated a preference for living either in the country or at the edge of town.

When residential preferences were compared with actual locations, the Oklahoma study showed that even among the urban residents, more than fifty percent expressed a preference for a rural environment.

Results of this type imply, as one study in Wisconsin has concluded, that "if everyone were to live in the size of place . . . they preferred, the distribution of (the) population would look quite different . . ." [8]

The Wisconsin study further indicated that rural residence and small towns were preferred only if located within thirty miles of a major metropolitan area. These findings suggest that most people would like to maintain the advantages of city life, while at the same time benefiting from living in a rural setting. This trend, which is continuing into the 1970's,[9] is not a new one, it is consistent with the suburban search for space and tranquility away from the inner city.

In view of these preferences, the research proposed in this paper attempts to provide answers to some, at least, of the following questions—

(1) How can rural environments be described and classified, in physical and in human terms?

(2) What can we find out about the perceptions people have of rural living, and in particular, about their preferences for different environmental settings?

(3) How can we investigate the contribution to human well-being of rural living and the "rural way of life"? Some other questions related to this last one include—

If the people who prefer a rural setting can ever make their way out of the city, what will they find when they arrive? Why do people have such preferences? And finally, are urban preferences for rural settings similar to rural preferences for rural settings?

This paper proposes some directions for investigating the question enumerated above. Before outlining the proposed research, however, it is appropriate to discuss some of the existing literature on rural living and the rural way of life.

SOME INITIAL RESEARCH PROBLEMS—A LITERATURE REVIEW

A fundamental stage in outlining any research activity is the identification of the key variables. In this study those variables are related to: (a) the physical and human characteristics of rural environments; and (b) the measurement of well-being as it relates to the "rural way of life." Both of these issues will be discussed in some detail before the proposed research is described.

The Physical and Human Characteristics of Rural Environments

There is a vast literature to help a researcher decide which variables are pertinent for describing rural characteristics. However, a survey of

[8] Zuiches and Fuguitt, op. cit., p. 621.

[9] See for example Wilbur Zelinsky, "Where Is Everybody Going– The Redistribution of the American Population in the 1970's." Paper presented at the Department of Geography, University of Oklahoma, March 1975. Professor Zelinsky showed how the recent census data demonstrated a population growth and in-migration to rural counties in American since 1970.

this literature has identified some fundamental problems, related to: (1) the concept of an urban-rural continuum; (2) the definition of units for data collection; and (3) the actual variables selected for study.

1. *The Urban-Rural Continuum.*—Many sources have discussed the existence of a continuum for describing rural and urban settings. Using the continuum concept, different places can, in theory at least, be described by their 'scores' on the key variables such as community size, and density.[10] On the other hand a bi-polar concept is not entirely realistic in view of the multi-variate nature of urban and rural places. Thus, as one observer has remarked . . . "it is apparent that this so-called continuum is at best a partially ordered scale in that rural urban status is defined by a variety of sub-attributes or elements which cannot be translated into the same scale order." [11] In further investigations it might be more useful to identify some of the basic clusters or dimensions of rural places, an exercise with considerable precedent in the social sciences in general,[12] but one which has received little attention in the rural sociology literature.[13]

2. *The Definition of Units for Data Collection.*—The majority of rural research has predefined different locations into a two or three part classification. A common schema would include farm, open country non-farm, and town locations.[14] Alternatively, different-sized towns could be used in data collection,[15] and in the residential preference study reported earlier, the consideration of distance from major metropolitan areas was included as a further refinement.[16] It occurs to this researcher, however, that there would be definite advantages in also trying to identify different types of rural locations, based on, for example, agricultural types, population distributions, and physical appearances. It would be appropriate therefore, to collect data for a wide range of different places, possibly as many as ten different types of locations, and then to use the results of a dimensionalization procedure to define the major characteristics of different rural and urban settings.

3. *The Variables Used to Describe Rural Characteristics.*—The debate about the existence of rural-urban differences has been especially prevalent in the rural sociology literature of the last decade. The debate has featured a variety of viewpoints, ranging from the argument that

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[10] Leo F. Schnore, "The Rural-Urban Variable: An Urbanite's Perspective," Rural Sociology, volume 31 (1966), pp. 131–143; and F. K. Willitts and R. C. Bealer, "An Evaluation of a Composite Definition of Rurality," Rural Sociology, volume 32 (1967), pp. 165–177.

[11] Thomas R. Ford, "Comments on Schnore's 'The Rural-Urban Variable: An Urbanite's Perspective.'" Rural Sociology, volume 3 (1966), pp. 149-150, quotation from p. 150.

[12] For examples in geography see Brian J. L. Berry (Ed.) Comparative Factorial Ecology, Economic Geography (Supplement), volume 47 (June 1971); and in psychology, see Stephen Kaplan, Rachel Kaplan, and John S. Wendt, "Rated Preference and Complexity for Natural and Urban Visual Material," Perception and Psychophysics, Volume 12 (1972), pp. 354–356.

[13] There are some exceptions, for example R. L. Johnson and E. Knop, "Rural-Urban Differentials in Community Satisfaction," Rural Sociology, Vol. 35 (1970), pp. 544–548. A dimensionalization procedure would be similar to a factor analysis. The goal would be to identify independent characteristics of residential places, some of which may be uniquely rural and some uniquely urban. The two types may not be the ends of a single continuum. Using this procedure would result in richer and more interesting descriptors of the different environmental types.

[14] Willitts, Bealer and Crider, op. cit., pp. 36–45.

[15] See L. G. Burchinal, G. R. Hawkes and B. Gardner, "Adjustment Characteristics of Rural and Urban Children," Americ. n Sociological Review, Vol. 22 (1957), pp. 81–87.

[16] Zuiches and Fuguitt, op. cit., pp. 617–631.

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no significant differences exist between urban and rural life-styles,[17] to the argument that the differences which do exist are not usually important or meaningful.[18] In the meantime researchers continue to provide evidence of significant rural-urban differences,[19] some examples of which are reported in Tables 1 and 2.

TABLE 1.—SELECTED CHARACTERISTICS OF THE POPULATION, BY PLACE OF RESIDENCE, UNITED STATES, 1960

Characteristic	Urban	Rural nonfarm	Rural farm
Total population (thousands)	125, 284	40, 567	13, 475
White population (thousands)	110, 443	36, 519	11, 876
Nonwhite population (thousands)	14, 841	4, 048	1, 598
Percent aged 65 and over	9. 1	8. 9	9. 3
Median age	30. 3	26. 7	29. 6
Average size of family	3. 56	3. 81	3. 96
Children ever born per 1,000 ever-married women 35 to 39	2. 514	3. 034	3. 469
Percent in same house, 1955 and 1960	47. 9	48. 7	71. 1
Percent unemployed	5. 1	6. 1	3. 0
Percent of females in labor force	37. 2	28. 7	22. 9
Median income of husband-wife families	6, 451	4, 976	3, 316
Percent of employed males:			
In agriculture	1. 4	9. 6	69. 3
White collar workers	40. 2	27. 2	7. 6
Farmers and farm managers	. 4	3. 5	53. 0
Farm laborers	. 6	5. 1	15. 1
Percent 5-year-olds enrolled in kindergarten	46. 0	23. 4	15. 8
Percent 7- to 13-year-olds enrolled in school	97. 8	97. 1	97. 2
Percent 19-year-old school dropouts	29. 0	42. 3	41. 6
Percent aged 25–29 with 4 years high school or more	63. 8	53. 0	51. 4
Median years of school completed by persons 25 years old and over	11. 1	9. 5	8. 8
Percent of all housing units with hot and cold piped water	95. 0	70. 3	65. 3
Percent of all occupied housing units:			
With 1.01 or more persons per room	10. 2	15. 4	14. 4
Deteriorated or dilapidated	13. 8	25. 3	30. 3
With home freezer	13. 0	26. 0	52. 7
With telephone	83. 1	67. 1	64. 2
With automobile	76. 1	83. 7	87. 3

Source: Schnore 1966 p. 137.

TABLE 2.—SELECTED CHARACTERISTICS OF THE POPULATION, BY PLACE OF RESIDENCE, UNITED STATES, 1970

	Urban	Rural nonfarm	Rural farm
Percent born in another State	29. 0	20. 6	13. 1
Percentage of war veterans	44. 8	40. 6	31. 5
Percentage of Vietnam and Korean war veterans	14. 7	13. 3	9. 5
Percent enrolled in school—25–34 years	7. 1	3. 4	2. 5
Percent enrollment in college	66. 1	67. 3	77. 1
Percent of families with income lower than 75 percent of poverty level	5. 9	9. 8	13. 6
Income less than 120 percent of poverty level	12. 8	20. 9	27. 3
Percent males over 65 in labor force	25. 8	19. 6	39. 5
Percent females over 65 in labor force	10. 8	8. 1	7. 6

Source: "1970 Census of Population": General social and economic characteristics, United States summary.

The literature provides no convincing evidence that rural and urban attitudes have 'levelled' during the last quarter of a century.[20] One study for example, has shown that differences exist in the type of com-

[17] An argument along these lines was made by R. Pahl, "Rural-Urban Continuum," Paper presented to the Fifth Congress of the European Society for Rural Sociology, Dublin, August 1966.

[18] See Ford, op. cit., pp. 149–151; R. C. Bealer, "A Discussion of Leo F. V. Schnore, The Rural-Urban Variable, An Urbanite Perspective," Rural Sociology, Vol. 3 (1966), pp. 144–148; and Richard Dewey, "The Rural-Urban Continuum: Real But Relatively Unimportant," American Journal of Sociology, Vol. 66 (1960), pp. 60–66.

[19] This evidence is documented by E. Lupri, "The Rural-Urban Variable Reconsidered;" Sociologica Ruralis, Vol. 7 (1967), pp. 1–20; by Willitts, Bealer and Crider, op. cit.; pp. 36–45; and Schnore, op. cit., pp. 131–143.

[20] The team "levelled" was first used by Willitts, Bealer and Crider, op. cit., pp. 36–45.

munity satisfaction felt by rural and urban residents,[21] while others have demonstrated that farm residents are less likely to support the environmental movement, and that it is still possible to identify a deep-rooted sense of 'agrarianism' in many farmers.[22] Willitts, Bealer and Crider [23] have recently reported that although there has been a trend toward increasing permissiveness in all sections of the population, rural residents are still more likely to retain conservative attitudes toward traditional morality than the rest of the population.

The results of these and other studies suggest that significant differences still exist between life in rural and urban environments.[24] However, as Willitts and Bealer have demonstrated, most of the differences referred to in the literature have little predictive ability and do not perform well in construct validation exercises.[25] The implicit suggestion in Willitts and Bealer's work, is that although differences can still be identified, much work remains for researchers interested in identifying some of the meaningful relationships between the individual and the environment in rural settings. Some of the research topics suggested in this paper are attempts to follow-up this implicit suggestion, for example, by measuring people's feelings for their residential settings, and by studying their perceptions of and preferences for rural as opposed to urban living. Another research suggestion, to which this discussion now turns, is a proposal to identify some of the dimensions of the "rural way of life" which can be related to psychological well-being.

WELL-BEING AND THE "RURAL WAY OF LIFE"

Much of the research activity has recently been devoted to the issue of human well-being and the quality of life.[26] Although most of this work has employed aggregated social indicators of well-being,[27] a significant amount of research effort has been concerned with the human responses to the widespread deterioration in environmental quality.[28] The desire to escape congestion and pollution in the cities may partially explain the widespread preference for rural living. It is pertinent and timely, therefore, to investigate the contribution a "rural way of life" might make to psychological well-being.

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[21] See Johnson and Knop, op. cit., pp. 544–548, who found that rural residents showed more concern for participation in local politics, in cooperative endeavours and in the appreciation of their natural environment. Urban residents on the other hand, appeared to receive more satisfaction from peculiarly "urban" element, such as shopping and medical facilities, entertainment, teacher abilities, and salary levels.

[22] William L. Flinn and Donald E. Johnson, "Agrarianism Among Wisconsin Farmers." Rural Sociology, Vol. 39 (1974), pp. 187–204.

[23] Willitts, Bealer and Crider, op. cit., pp. 36–45.

[24] N. D. Glenn and J. P. Alston, "Rural-Urban Differences in Reported Attitude and Behavior" Southwest Social Science Quarterly, Vol. 47 (1967), pp. 381–400; and J. Stoekel, "The Exclusivity of Rural Farm and Urban Residence Categories." Rural Sociology, Vol. 32 (1967), pp. 351–354.

[25] Willits and Bealer, op. cit., 165–177.

[26] See for examples of this work K. E. Hornback and R. W. Shaw, "Toward a Quantitative Measure of the Quality of Life" unpublished paper, July 1973; and A. Campbell and P. E. Converse "The Human Meaning of Social Change," New York: Russel Sage Foundation, 1972.

[27] The major work in this area is R. A. Bauer, "Social Indicators," Cambridge, Mass.: M.I.T. Press, 1966. For a recent geographical application see David M. Smith, "The Geography of Social Well-Being in the United States: An Introduction to Territorial Social Indicators" (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1973).

[28] For a collection of essays on this topic, see "The Fitness of Man's Environment," Papers Delivered at the Smithsonian Institution Annual Symposium New York: Harper and Row, 1970. See also Stanley Milgram, "The Experience of Living in Cities," *Science*, Vol. 167 (1970), pp. 1461–1468.

Although well-being is an elusive concept, a survey of the literature suggests three major directions for this part of the research.[29] Each direction has its own problems and weaknesses, but each one is able to contribute to the overall research strategy proposed in this paper. The three directions are as follows: (1) psychologists' attempts to measure well-being; (2) attempts to measure neighborhood and community satisfaction; and (3) attempts to relate rural living to measures of well-being.

1. *Psychologists' Attempts to Measure Well-Being and Happiness.*— Several reliable and valid measures of psychological well-being have been identified in recent studies.[30] Unfortunately, none of these measures has been concerned with place satisfaction, or with environmental preferences and attitudes, and in their existing form they are not particularly useful for research of the type being proposed. Such measures could be used, of course, to test the meaningfulness of other more context-specific measures developed in the future. One strategy, for example, would be to identify some dimensions of the "rural way of life," and then to investigate the relationship between these and the dimensions of existing well-being measures. It might, for example, be possible to identify components of rural satisfaction such as "environmental trust," "love of nature" or "agrarianism," [31] and then to combine these components into an overall dimension of rural well-being, independent of the social-psychological components, but related to the overall concept of well-being. These ideas are presented hypothetically in Figure 1, where Level A is a measure of overall well-being for rural residents, composed of four dimensions in Level B: employment satisfaction, marital satisfaction, feelings of independence, and recreational satisfaction. In the hypothetical exam-

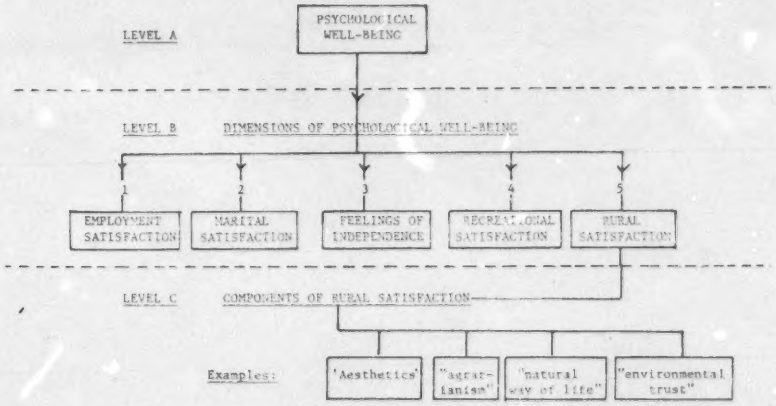

FIGURE 1.—*A Hypothetical model of psychological well-being in rural environments.*

[29] For a survey of this literature see W. Wilson, "Correlates of Avowed Happiness" Psychological Bulletin Vol. 67 (1967), pp. 294–306.

[30] Norman N. Bradburn, "The Structure of Psychological Well-Being," Chicago: Aldine, 1968; A. E. Wessman and D. F. Ricks, "Mood and Personality," New York, Holt, 1966; D. L. Phillips, "Social Participation and Happiness," "American Journal of Sociology," Vol. 72 (1967), pp. 479–488.

[31] The concept of "agrarianism" is discussed by Flinn and Johnson, op. cit. pp. 187–204; and the other two dimensions, "environmental trust" and "nature" were described by Rachel Kaplan, "Some Psychological Benefits of Gardening," Environment and Behavior, Vol. 5 (1973), pp. 145–162.

ple a fifth dimension has been identified, namely rural satisfaction, and Level C shows some of the possible components of this dimension which are mentioned earlier. Some of the research tools most pertinent for a study of this type are identified in the last section of the paper.

2. *Attempts to Measure Neighborhood and Community Satisfaction.*—This branch of the literature represents an encouraging trend for the research proposed in this paper. In a number of instances researchers have investigated the components of satisfaction in rural communities. Unfortunately most investigations have concentrated on activity patterns, service-related behavior, and political or ideological issues.[32] A related body of literature dealing with environmental satisfaction in urban communities, has provided some useful complementary information for the proposed study.[33]

3. *Attempts to Relate Rural Living to Measures of Well-Being.*—In the 1940's and 1950's several researchers attempted to relate "the rural way of life" to measures of personality and adjustment.[34] This research was discontinued in the 1960's, presumably because the results were contradictory and unable to suggest areas for further study. In the late 1960's, however, the literature began to feature studies of independence and personal efficacy among the residents of rural areas.[35] This latter research may be headed in a more hopeful direction, particularly because it is related to research in other contexts, including the study of inner-city minority groups and mental patients.[36]

The literature in these three areas has suggested several feasible approaches for studying the relationships between rurality and psychological well-being, and in the final section a synthesis is attempted, in the form of a blueprint for the proposed research.

A PROPOSAL FOR RESEARCH—RURALITY AND WELL-BEING

The proposed research would be a large-scale study composed of a number of components to be investigated separately. As a starting point, a pilot study of rural residents is proposed, using an open-ended questionnaire format. An introductory study of this type will help identify some of the items to be included in later parts of the research. The questionnaire would begin with a number of questions, for example, asking rural residents what they think are the differences between urban and rural environments; what they feel about rural places and "the rural way of life"; and what makes them happy about living in a rural environment. It might also be useful to determine the extent to which rural people agree or disagree with some of the popular conceptions (or misconceptions) about rural life, and at the same time interesting comparisons could be made by asking urban residents the same questions.

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[32] See Johnson and Knop, op. cit., pp. 544–548; and also L. K. Bharadwaj and E. A. Wilkening, "Canonical Analysis of Farm Satisfaction Data," Rural Sociology, Vol. 38 (1973), pp. 159–173; and also R. Schulze (et al.), "The Measurement of Rural Satisfaction and the Decision to Migrate," Rural Sociology, Vol. 28 (1963), pp. 279–283.

[33] Henderson and Bohland, op. cit., and Robert B. Zehner and F. Stuart Chapin, "Across the City Line: A White Community in Transition," Lexington, Mass.: C. D. Heath and Co., 1974.

[34] See for example S. R. Hathaway (et al.), "Rural-Urban Adolescent Personality," Rural Sociology, Vol. 24 (1959), pp. 331–346; A. R. Magnus, "Personality Adjustment of Rural and Urban Children," American Sociological Review, Vol. 13 (1948), pp. 566–575; I. F. Nye, "Adolescent-Parent Adjustment: Rurality as a Variable" Rural Sociology, Vol. 15 (1950), pp. 334–339.

[35] Polansky, op. cit., pp. 219–222; Barban (et al.), op. cit., pp. 232–243.

[36] See for example Christopher J. Smith, "The Residential Neighborhood as a Therapeutic Community," Ann Arbor, Mich.: Michigan Geographical Publications, No. 18, 1975 (In press), and B. R. Braginsky (et al.), Methods of Madness: The Mental Hospital as a Last Resort," New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1969.

Following the pilot study, the research could be conducted in a number of stages, including; (1) identification of sample locations and sample sizes at each location; (2) measurement of the physical attributes of the sample locations; (3) measurement of some of the personal attributes, perceptions and attitudes of the residents in each location; (4) a search for some underlying dimensions of both the physical descriptor variables and also of the human variables; (5) a search for relationships between the physical and the human measures, and between both types of measures and the attainment of psychological well-being; and (6) a re-definition of the basic concepts and research tasks, where necessary, plus suggestions for further research. Each of these steps is illustrated in Figure 2. The overall design leans

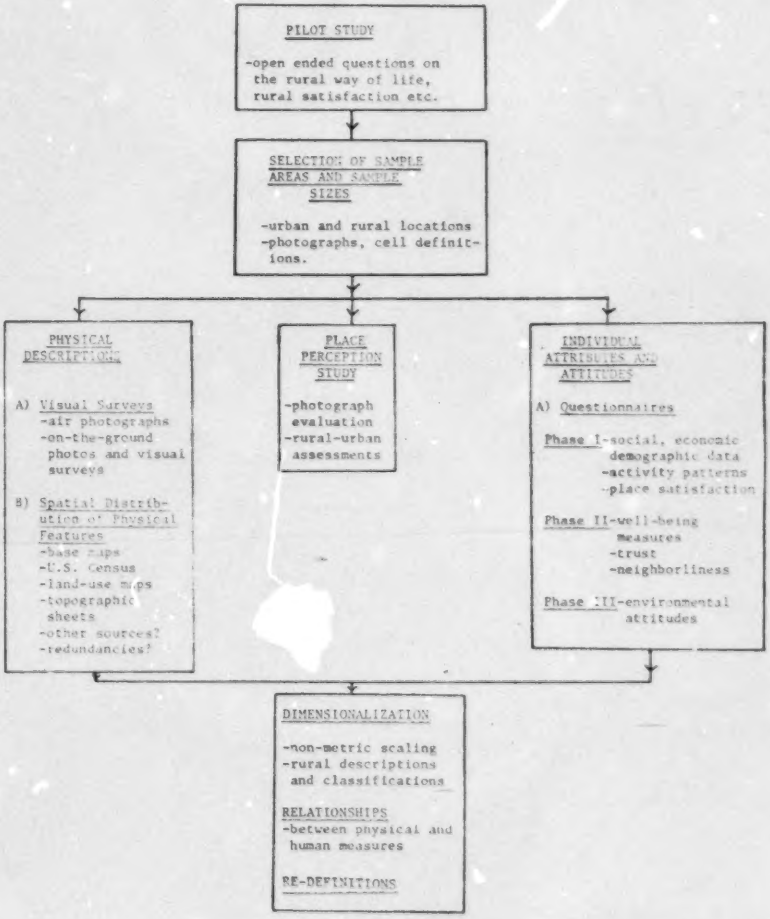

FIGURE 2.—*A Diagram of the Study Design.*

heavily on the existing literature, but where necessary important changes are suggested to complement or replace some of the methodologies already in existence.

1. *Identification of Sample Locations.*—The proposed research will be an exploratory study of rural environments, and the "rural way of life." As such, care will be taken not to define rural and urban areas too rigorously at the outset. It is more important that the study should generate some descriptors of rural environments which are efficient and intuitively meaningful. Thus, although some initial definitions must be made, the sample locations should not become ends in themselves.

To ensure a flexible design, one strategy would be to sample residents in a number of different type settings, both urban and rural. At each location it would be necessary to sample enough individuals to allow for matchings at a later stage of the analysis.

2. *Measurement of the Physical Characteristics of Rural Environments.*—There are several sources available to complement the data traditionally used to describe rural and non-rural environments. Thus, for example, spatial differentiations can be measured visually from air photographs, a technique which has been used successfully in a number of instances.[37] Smaller scale variations, for example in the appearance of front and back yards, in house types, and in road conditions, can be assessed from on-the-ground photographs of the sample locations and from visual surveys conducted on foot.[38] Information on the spatial distribution of land-use types is available in land-use maps, and descriptions of relief and water cover are available from the U.S.G.S. topographic sheets.

Data to describe density and population distributions can be collected from the U.S. Census and from base maps of the sample locations. In analysis these data could be further refined, for example by using techniques to assess the amount of concentration in rural populations, or the orientation and spatial configuration of the settlement pattern. Several techniques have been developed by geographers for use in problems of this type,[39] and the application of some of these, for example, the nearest neighbor technique, would complement the more traditional distance and density measures.

3. *Measurement of Personal Attributes and Perceptions in Rural Environments.*—The personal attributes and perceptions of individuals in each location would be measured in a number of stages.[40] A

[37] For examples of the use of air photographs in describing and classifying landscape types, see Howard Hammerman, "Neighborhood Groups and Land Development: The Organizational Basis of Human Ecology," unpublished Ph. D. dissertation, Department of Sociology, University of Michigan, 1974; F. W. Young and E. D. MacConnell, "Structural Differentiation of Communities: An Aerial Photographic Study" Rural Sociology, Vol. 32 (1967), pp. 334–345; and Christopher J. Smith, "Some Relationships Between Housing, Transportation and the Attainment of Psychological Well-Being," "Proceedings of the International Symposium on Housing and Transportation" (Detroit, Mich.: Wayne State University Press, 1975).

[38] Such studies have been carried out successfully by James S. Duncan, "Landscape Taste as a Symbol of Group Identity: A Westchester County Village" The Geographical Review, Vol. 63 (1973), pp. 334–355; and also by Todd R. Zdorkowski, "Psychic Communities: The Marrow Within the Bones," unpublished M.A. Thesis, Department of Geography, University of Oklahoma, 1975.

[39] See for example Leslie J. King, Statistical Analysis in Geography, Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1969; and Maurice Yeates, "An Introduction to Quantitative Analysis in Human Geography," New York: McGraw-Hill, 1974.

[40] Table 2 shows the stages outlined in this section. The overall design is flexible, allowing for different parts of the research to be carried out independently. The questionnaire data proposed here would probably be too lengthy to complete at any one time, and it might be necessary to get a commitment from the respondents for an interviewer to return two or three times.

series of questionnaires appears to be a necessary format, followed or preceded by a study of environmental perceptions and preferences (Figure 2). Very briefly, each phase of this part of the research could be conducted as follows:

A. QUESTIONNAIRE PHASE I—INITIAL DATA COLLECTION

In this phase, economic, social and demographic data could be collected, along with data describing the respondents' social and recreational activity patterns. At this stage it might also be useful to assess other items such as the respondents' feelings toward their immediate environments, their satisfaction with the neighborhood, their ties and identity with place, their sense of community, and so on. The items to be included in this part of the study would be generated from the pilot study, and also from the existing literature.[41]

B. QUESTIONNAIRE PHASE II—PSYCHOLOGICAL WELL-BEING

At this stage established measures of psychological well-being could be administered, along with other scales measuring pertinent items such as interpersonal trust,[42] or neighborliness in rural communities.[43] These items are appropriate for a study of rural settings, and it would be interesting to test for relationhips between such items and some of the physical characteristics of the community. It is possible, for example, that differences in population density may affect the level of human interaction, as would physical barriers such as rivers, railroad tracks and major traffic routes.[44] In all probability this section of the study could be completed independently of other sections.

C. QUESTIONNAIRE PHASE III—ENVIRONMENTAL ATTITUDES

As some recent research has suggested,[45] people living in urban and rural areas might be expected to differ in their attitudes toward the environment and its preservation, and a number of reliable techniques to measure such attitudes are available.[46] The results from this part of the study could be compared with the results from other parts. It might be interesting, for example, to assess how an individual's concern for environmental issues related to items such as residence, locational preference, social and economic status, and activity patterns.

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[41] See, for example, the questionnaire schedules of John B. Lansing, Charles W. Clifton and James N. Morgan, "New Homes for Poor People," Ann Arbor, Mich.: Institute for Social Research, 1969.

[42] Julian B. Rotter, "A New Scale for the Measurement of Interpersonal Trust," Journal of Personality, Vol. 35 (1967), pp. 651–665.

[43] For a discussion of scales for measuring neighborliness, see Delbert C. Miller, "Handbook of Research Design and Social Measurement," New York: David McKay Co., 1964.

[44] Some of these issues are discussed by Donald Appleyard and Mark Lintell, "The Environmental Quality of City Stress: The Residents Viewpoint," Journal of the American Institute of Planners, Vol. 38 (1972), pp. 84–101.

[45] F. H. Buttell and W. F. Flinn, "The Structure of Support for the Environmental Movement, 1968–1970," Rural Sociology, Vol. 39 (1974), pp. 56–69.

[46] See R. Kaplan, op. cit., pp. 145–162; Edmond Constantini and Kenneth Hanf, "Environmental Concern and Lake Tahoe: A Study of Elite Perceptions, Backgrounds and Attitudes," Environment and Behavior, Vol. 4 (1972), pp. 209–242; George F. McKechnie, "The Environmental Response Inventory: Preliminary Development," Berkeley, Calif.: Institute of Personality Assessment and Research, 1970; and Louis N. Tognacci (et al.), "Environmental Quality: How Universal Is Public Concern?" Environment and Behavior, Vol. 4 (1972), pp. 73–86.

D. LANDSCAPE PREFERENCE STUDY

This part of the research would use on-the-ground photographs in a study of landscape preferences. Some effective methodologies for a study of this type have been developed, and are described in detail in a number of sources.[47] One strategy would involve the use of representative photographs of the sample locations, both rural and urban. The photographs would be assessed by residents from the different locations, who would be asked to describe the landscape as they see it, and to determine how urban or rural the scene appears.[48] The respondents could also be asked to express preferences for the scenes, and to assess how much or how little of certain attributes the scene possesses. Attributes such as spaciousness, "greenness" and the presence of natural features could be evaluated in this manner, and it should be possible to investigate the components of preference for urban and rural landscapes, using the methodology described by Stephen and Rachel Kaplan in a number of recent studies.[49]

The data collected could be used as the basis for visual descriptions and classifications of different landscape types in rural and urban locations.[50] Visual studies of this type have proved extremely useful in investigating the acquisition of environmental information and the structure of environmental preferences.[51] As such, this part of the study may provide some valuable information to explain the preferences expressed by a majority of people for living in rural environments.

4,5,6. *Dimensionalization, Relationships and Further Research.*— A number of non-metric scaling techniques are readily available to handle data of the type suggested in this proposal.[52] Using such techniques it would be possible to identify groups of variables which have similar overall patterns to all other variables in the data set. Thus, for example, it should be possible to identify some underlying physical dimensions of rural places, and also some of the underlying human dimensions of the residents in those places. The relationships between the two types of dimensions could be investigated, as the first step in a search for some of the ties between people and the places they live, between environment and behavior. A next step would be an attempt to identify which, if any, of the human "rural way of life" di-

[47] Kaplan, Kaplan and Wendt, op. cit., pp. 354–356; see also Roger S. Ulrich, "Scenery and the Shopping Trip: The Roadside Environment as a Factor in Route Choice," Ann Arbor, Mich.: Michigan Geographical Publications No. 12, 1974.

[48] A similar procedure, for evaluating urban scenery (residential neighborhoods), is described by Christopher J. Smith, "Images of Residential Environments in Oklahoma City," In J. R. Bohland (Ed.) "Oklahoma City: Its Socio-Spatial Mosaic." Norman, Okla.: University of Oklahoma Press, 1975 (In Press).

[49] For a summary of the Kaplan's recent work, see Stephen Kaplan, "Adaptation, Structure and Knowledge," In G. T. Moore and R. G. Golledge (Eds.) "Environmental Knowing: Theories, Perspectives, and Methods," Stroudsberg, Pa.: Dowden, Hutchinson and Ross, 1975 (In press).

[50] The classifications could then be compared with the classifications based on the physical data sources described earlier in this paper. It would also be useful to find out how rural residents view rural and urban scenery and vice versa. To do this, it might be feasible to have the respondents assess how similar they feel a particular landscape is to the scene in their own neighborhood.

[51] Some of these studies are discussed by Stephen Kaplan, "An Informal Model for the Prediction of Preference," In E. H. Zube; J. G. Fabos and R. O. Brush (Eds.) "Landscape Assessment: Values, Perceptions and Resources" (In press, 1974).

[52] R. N. Shepard, A. K. Romney and S. B. Nerlove (Eds.) Multidimensional "Scaling—Vol. 1." New York: Seminar Press, 1972.

mensions mentioned earlier in the paper, are related to the overall measure of psychological well-being (Figure 1).

The dimensionalization procedure should help identify those variables which are effective as descriptors of rural environments and rural life-styles, and those which are redundant. The results of the dimensionalization might also suggest areas for further study, for example, in the choice of new data sources or in the investigation of the causal components of rural well-being.

CONCLUSION

A proposal for researching rural environments has been outlined. The major goals of the research are: (1) to identify some of the salient physical and spatial components of rural settings, and to do this by complementing the usual measures with data from new and in some cases untested sources; (2) to identify some of the underlying dimensions of "rural ways of life," rural attitudes, rural perceptions and rural preferences. The purpose of this part of the research is to develop some intuitively meaningful and useful measures of "rurality," and to learn more about the effects of rural living on attitude development and the structure of environmental preferences; (3) to identify the dimensions of environmental satisfaction and well-being which are related to rural living. The purpose here is to illustrate the benefits which might result from living in rural areas, and also to investigate the commonly held image of the "rural way of life" as one which is supportive and therapeutic.

The proposal outlines a large scale study, composed of a number of smaller, independent projects. The first exercise would necessarily be an open-ended pilot study, followed by a study of rural-urban landscape perceptions, and then possibly an investigation of particular items such as the establishment of trust and neighborliness in rural areas. The major requirement for the study is that the overall design remains flexible enough to allow for feedback from critical comment and early results. Changes in the concepts and methodologies could result from feedback as the research evolves. The study is largely exploratory, and as such, no definitive answers are expected. The results may only be able to provide answers for parts of the study, for example, by showing how effective measures of rurality can be assembled. The proposed research and the methods of analysis should be thought of more as the expression of an attitude towards doing scientific research than as a set of rigid procedures. In this way the proposal recognizes, as one observer has commented, that:

> In general, a single study does not prove or disprove anything, and—one of the most important outcomes (of the research) is guidance as to how to come closer to one's objectives the next time around. In that sense, the research in any area that is not yet thoroughly studied is necessarily exploratory.

REVITALIZING RURAL CULTURES: A CASE FOR THE DEVELOPMENT OF RURAL ETHNICITY

(By Burton L. Purrington, Associate Professor of Anthropology, Appalachian State University, Boone, N.C.)

It is common knowledge that as our nation becomes increasingly urban and suburban, traditional rural populations are dwindling and rural ways of life disappearing. In recent years, concern over this trend has grown. Much of this concern is pure nostalgia, but many serious scholars also feel that the decline in the self-sufficiency of many rural communities and small farms and concomitant urban and suburban expansion pose serious threats to our economic, environmental, demographic, and psychological well-being.

There are three major points I wish to make in this paper. First, the decline of rural societies and cultures is maladaptive for not only rural people, but the nation-state as well. Second, despite the dysfunctional nature of the deterioration of rural culture, its demise is currently being hastened by direct pressures from exploitive business interests, self-serving governmental agencies, and well-heeled urban immigrants and by indirect pressures from generally well-meaning organizations and institutions trying to bring rural people into the "mainstream" of American life. And third, positive steps can and should be taken to reduce the pressures for disruptive change in rural cultures and to reinforce the processes and institutions that stabilize and maintain them.

The Nature of Rural Culture and Cultures

The life-ways of rural people are as many and varied as the ethnic groups to which they owe their origins. Black tenant farmers from the Gulf Coastal Plain, white Appalachians, Pine Ridge Sioux, third and fourth generation Swedes from the Midwest, Pennsylvania Amish, and Southwestern Chicanos all have different world views and accepted patterns of behavior. Rural cultures also vary widely both between and within themselves in terms of educational and economic status and degrees of "modernization." Some rural societies lean toward the fatalistic, person-oriented, change resistant "traditional" societies described by Foster (1962: 44–57) and Rogers (1962: 59–70), while others are more "progressive" and amenable to change.[1]

It would be a mistake, therefore, to assume that there is a single homogeneous rural culture. Nevertheless, a few important traits can be said to characterize rural cultures in general. One of the most distinctive characteristics is a seemingly paradoxical combination of in-

[1] Helen Lewis (1970:6) suggests that the fatalism and traditionalism generally associated with Appalachian cultures are actually responses to the states of powerlessness and exploitation caused by colonialism. This model may be applicable to many other "traditional" rural cultures.

dividualism and self-sufficiency coupled with close interpersonal relations and a strong spirit of cooperation especially in emergencies.[2]

The rural person who has not been extensively acculturated generally exhibits a broad range of technical skills and a good understanding of his natural surroundings. In addition, the small, generally homogeneous rural society lends itself to an ideology which is sacred rather than secular, i.e., one in which an individual is "part of a social arrangement where there are certain justified assumptions about how people will deal with each other" (Lyford 1965:129; cf. Redfield 1947: 293). On the basis of these characteristics, the small town dweller or farmer can be distinguished from the city dweller who tends to be far more dependent upon the goods and services of others, yet generally has few close interpersonal relationships.

Most rural societies can be characterized as ethnic groups, i.e., people "who share a sense of peoplehood or identity with one another, who feel an irrevocable affinity with persons who have common roots in a meaningful historical tradition" (Anderson 1974:234; cf. Gordon 1962: Chapter 2). This is obviously true for racially distinct groups with long historical traditions, notably Indians and Southern Blacks, but it is also true for Europeans who have been isolated by culture (Amish, Mennonites) or geography (Southern Appalachians,[3] Cajuns). In addition, despite the emphasis on "progress" and "development" in most small, predominantly white communities, many of them still take pride in their history, their region, their community identity, their values, and their general rural-small town status.

Functions of Rural Communities and Life-ways

A major function of the rural setting is evident in the recent waves of outmigration from the cities and suburbs to the country. This "back to the land" movement takes one of two major forms: (1) those who attempt to escape from the hassles or urban or suburban life by "getting away from it all" for a few hours, days, or weeks; and (2) those who essentially sever their old ties and adopt a rural or small town life style in an appropriate setting. It is evident in either form that a significant percentage of our population places a high value on the rural setting. In part this phenomenon owes itself to America's strong anti-urban bias, a legacy of our still recent frontier days, but many people are seeking justified relief from the alienation and anomie that come with the depersonalization, role conflict, overcrowding, and insecurity of urban life.

We can see other functions of rural cultures by looking at rural societies as ethnic groups. There is a tendency to look at ethnic groups, particularly rural ones, as narrow parochial, and stultifying—which they can indeed be. But, as sociologist Charles Anderson points out (1974:236), "to other persons, the ethnic group is the only mileau within which he can relax, be comfortable, and open up. . . . To such people, the ethnic group is liberating rather than restricting." Ander-

[2] Depending on cultural background, close interpersonal relations can be delimited by the nuclear family, the extended family, the clan, the village, the tribe, or simply a group whose members share a perception of alienation and/or exclusion from the dominant society.

[3] David Whisnant (1973) suggests that Appalachian people do indeed make up an ethnic group, but one in which the members' sense of identity is becoming more dependent on regional identity and shared grievances than strictly ethnic identifications.

son also suggests that ethnic groups serve a stabilizing function for American society as a whole. Although ethnic groups can serve as points of prejudice, discrimination, and conflict, even in the event of complete assimilation of such groups, political and economic animosity and conflict would still be with us. "Indeed, ethnic groups, by cross-cutting social classes, have served to prevent the formation of hardened political and economic conflict . . . To the extent that assimilation has already occurred, we are perhaps witnessing a commensurate degree of heightened political and economic conflict" (Anderson 1974: 236).

Michael Novak suggests that it is not ethnic consciousness that is illiberal, divisive, and hostility-inducing. "What is illiberal is homogenization enforced in the name of liberalism. What is divisive is enforced in premature unity, especially a unity in which some groups are granted cultural superiority as models for the others. What breeds hostility is the quite repression of diversity . . . the enforcement of a single style of Americanism" (Novak 1973:13). Novak also suggests that the "new ethnicity" does not divide group against group, but instead is cross-cultural. "The stress is not only on what differentiates each group but also upon the similarities of *structure* and *process* in which all are involved" (Novak 1973:15). Unfortunately, Novak underplays the potential divisiveness of such groups, for example, those based on the coalition of Polish, Italian, Greek, and Slavic consciousness into "white ethnic" consciousness, but better examples to support his point do exist. One of the best examples comes from Appalachia with the rise of coalitions of Blacks, Indians, and East Europeans with the numerically dominant Scotch-Irish in opposition to coal and power companies, land developers, and exploitive government agencies (Whisnant 1973:125). A "rural ethnicity" uniting Indians, Blacks, Chicanos, and Europeans of a variety of religious and ethnic backgrounds against the ongoing processes of forced centralization[4] and urbanization would be similarly functional.[5]

Finally, it is important for us to think of the potential functions of rural ethnic cultures in the most unlikely possibility of future periods of social and/or economic instability. In the past many rural institutions, particularly the close personalistic ties of family and community, have proven to be highly adaptive in such situations. As anthropologist Charles Hudson (1973:144) notes:

> If we have learned anything at all in Vietnam, we should have learned that a society organized around kinship, small villages, and small land holdings can be almost unimaginably tough and resilient . . . If we should face such a calamity as an economic depression, and if the kinship system of the people of Beech Creek Appalachian Kentucky and other rural communities has been seriously weakened, then the rural-to-urban migration of the past three decades could turn out to have been more socially destructive than anyone would care to imagine.

[4] Some might protest that a trend away from centralization in rural America would weaken programs vital to rural well-being such as land-use. To the contrary, it is likely that stronger and more effective land-use policies would develop with a heightened sense of rural consciousness and its emphasis on ties to the land.

[5] Fears that a "rural ethnicity" would weaken the identity of the various ethnic and cultural groups that make up rural society are probably groundless. The emphasis on individualism in ideal rural culture would tend to foster a spirit of mutual acceptance of differences while the struggle against a common adversary would unite these diverse groups.

Causes of Rural Decline

To a large extent the attrition of rural cultures is an inevitable result of the "lure of the bright lights," which draws rural people, especially the young, to the cities in search of educational, psychological, and/or material benefits or, on the other side of the coin, in flight from provincialism, unemployment, poverty, and hunger in the country. At the same time, however, many rural people are being lured, pressured, or literally forced out of their communities by religious, educational, economic, and political institutions some of which sincerely work for what they perceive as the best interests of rural people, and others of which are purely exploitive.

The situation presently facing rural American societies can be described as a confrontation between mainstream, predominantly white, middle and upper-class society and the variety of rural societies. It is one in which a physically, economically, and numerically dominant society is in continuous contact with a subordinate one, a situation which generally results in behavioral changes in one or both cultures—or acculturation. Acculturation may take one of three forms (Barnett, et al 1954) : fusion, the merging of two or more cultures to form a new culture; assimilation, the absorption of one culture (usually subordinate) by another; and stabilized pluralism, a situation in which two or more cultures maintain their individual integrity and identity despite continuous contact.

Cultural pluralism can also be broken down into different forms. Exclusion is one form in which subordinate groups are allowed little, if any participation in the dominant society.[6] A second form involves co-existence between two autonomous, essentially self-sufficient groups. Frequently the relationship is symbiotic.[7] A third form of pluralism to which we shall refer later is referred to by anthropologist Nancy Lurie (1971:418–19) as articulatory and is exemplified by attempts by several contemporary American Indian organizations to move from a marginal to a productive state based essentially on contractual relationships with the dominant socio-economic system while at the same time maintaining their identity and resisting assimilation.

Most culture contact situations result in the assimilation of the subordinate culture. Nearly every American schoolchild, for example, internalizes the belief that America is a melting pot into which members of any race, nation, or culture can be thrown and come out generalized Americans with all rights and privileges appropriate to the status. However, the persistence and continuous expansion of low-income ghettos, barrios, and hillbilly heavens attest to the fact that the assimilative process cannot deal with complete effectiveness with racial, ethnic, and cultural differences. As a result, a high percentage of individuals from incompletely assimilated groups experience cultural ambivalence—a state of limbo between the traditional culture,

[6] Examples of exclusive pluralism include slave and caste systems and the *de facto* and, until recently, *de jure* exclusion of American Blacks from many activities of the dominant white society.

[7] Examples of pluralistic co-existence include the symbiotic relationship between the nomadic Pygmy hunters of the Congo and neighboring Bantu farmers, and the essentially mutually exclusive relationships between Pueblos of the American Southwest and neighboring White, Mexican-American, and Indian communities.

which has been abandoned, and the dominant culture, which allows only marginal participation for most members of ethnic minorities. Cultural ambivalence is, of course, largely responsible for the high incidence of alcohol and drug abuse, broken families, poor education, suicide, and crime among many subordinate but incompletely assimilated groups.

Consistent with its melting pot philosophy, mainstream American society has followed a policy of attempted assimilation with most minority groups, Blacks being until recently a notable exception. The policies of the Bureau of Indian Affairs, the Appalachian Regional Commission, and most government anti-poverty programs have been to bring the urban and rural "disadvantaged" into the mainstream. On an official level, rural people, particularly the poor, have been viewed in terms of what Charles Valentine (1968) calls a "difference" or "deficiency" model. The prevalence of this model in studies and programs in rural Appalachia (e.g. Weller 1965) is pointed out by Helen Lewis who shows how change agents from mainstream culture tend to see Appalachian poverty as due to the local culture's "pathological" values such as traditionalism, fatalism, and an inability to relate to people on anything but a personal level. It is generally concluded, then, that the solution to the problems of Appalachia is to educate the people and bring them into the modern world (Lewis 1970:4–6). As a result, concerted efforts have been made to break down the physical and cultural isolation of mountain communities, and, for example, as folklorist and Appalachian native Cratis Williams has pointed out, mountain children have, until very recently, been taught to be ashamed of their speech and their cultural heritage.

Similar approaches have been followed with the Indians beginning in the 19th Century when it was assumed that by moving Indians onto marginal land and giving them hoes and seeds they would quickly become part of the great frontier agrarian population. Deprecation of the Indians' traditional values and religious beliefs by white Christian missionaries, the transportation of Indian children to white-run boarding schools hundreds of miles from their homes, proscriptions against use of traditional language and dress in the boarding schools, and the Federal policy of termination of reservations have all been attempts by the dominant white society to assimilate Indians and the results have been disastrous (Deloria 1969).

In addition to these sometimes well-meaning attempts at assimilation, pressures of another type threaten to destroy many rural cultures and communities. The small scale rural landholder has frequently been the victim of a vicious form of colonialism perpetrated by mining, timber, and power interests; recreational developers; corporate farms; and, not infrequently, Federal agencies.[8] These pressures sap not only the resources of the land, but the spirits of the people who watch helplessly while the land to which they are economically and psychologically tied is wasted and devoured and their lives

[8] Novak (1971:239–40), for example, cites three areas of governmental policy which have propelled rural outmigration: 1) support for large industrial farms over smaller, less efficient farms; 2) heavy emphasis on highway construction; and 3) welfare policies which favor the urban poor over the rural poor.

are disrupted. Sometimes their virtual enslavement to the colonial society leads them to participation in the destruction of their own land. Harry Caudill (1962) has called the Southern Appalachians "the last unchallenged stronghold of western colonialism," and in many ways much of the rural environment, particularly that of the Indians of the West and Southwest, is used as a colony by the dominant industrial society.

Revitalizing Rural Cultures

How then do we stem this attach on rural communities, cultures and people? First, as Helen Lewis points out (1970:6), we must abandon the ethnocentric notion that the fault for rural depopulation, cultural breakdown, and poverty is primarily that of the rural people themselves and identify the real culprits—the greed and misdirected good will of mainstream society. Second, we must go beyond our nostalgic admiration of handicrafts, past lifeways, and weather-beaten barns to recognize that today's rural cultures serve positive functions not only for their practitioners, but for the nation-state as a whole. We must identify those extremely active processes with their frightening inertia which threaten to destroy rural cultures and environments, and they must be terminated or redirected. And finally, we must identify methods by which rural communities and cultures can be maintained and reinforced and put them into action.

The struggle must be carried out on two fronts. First the active destruction of the countryside must be halted. It is essential that exploitive activities such as strip mining; uncontrolled recreational development; condemnation of land for dams, highways, and recreation areas; and the expansion of corporate farms be evaluated and judged not only in terms of their immediate economic and energy-producing benefits, but in terms of their direct impact on human lives and their long-term impact on stable rural cultures and the nation-state as a whole.

Second, we must reconsider our attempts to force rural people into the mainstream of society in the light of the apparent impossibility and undesirability of complete assimilation of ethnic minorities and the subsequent cultural ambivalence and its attendant pathologies. Would it not be far healthier for American society as a whole to reinforce and revitalize rural communities so that as self-sufficient social units they can articulate with our urban industrial centers rather than become major contributors to their crime, dropout, and welfare rolls? A few suggestions for stabilizing rural communities and at least partially stemming the flood of rapid, disruptive culture change include:

1. Our education systems must be reevaluated. Certainly consolidated schools are more efficient on paper than small, scattered community schools and generally offer better facilities, but at what cost do we reduce the number of high school football captains, class presidents, homecoming queens, and yearbook editors in an eastern Kentucky County from, say, five to one each? Are we not simply creating ever larger numbers of alientated, non-participating automations? The open, ungraded classroom; individualized instruction; and teaching by peers were common activities in the nearly extinct one-room schools long before they became educational "innovations."

2. Pride in one's history is an essential component in ethnic and personal identity. Instead of deprecating the histories and traditional cultures of rural people, schools should develop programs which revive traditional skills and foster pride.

3. Funds for the preservation of historic sites and natural areas should be made available to communities.

4. Traditional gathering places in rural communities such as general stores, post offices, and even churches are being replaced by centralized facilities in "regional growth centers" and community identity is understandably declining. This trend could be reversed with subsidies to community enterprises and reduced emphasis on centralization and the growth center concept.

5. Jim Branscome of the Highlander Research and Education Center states (1973) that "if Appalachia is to survive, land reform is a must," and suggests that "the giant holdings of the corporations should be federalized and homesteaded . . ." Similar demands have been made by several Indian tribes in the past few years. While such demands may seem at first glance to be unrealistic, it should be obvious that the Indians and Southern Mountaineers were swindled and robbed of much of their land in the first place. Suggestions that crimes of the past such as these are subject to statutes of limitations are simply another way of using "white man's law" to crush the aspirations of minority peoples; in short, a continuation of the colonialist approach.

Even if the pressures for rural out-migration were eliminated and the institutions that support rural culture stabilized, the frequently precarious rural economy would have to be considered. Some rural communities can be made at least partially self-sufficient. The reduction of many limitations on hunting and fishing by Indians on some of the reservations; the support of local industries and service facilities by such groups as the Council on Religion in Appalachia and the Council of the Southern Mountains; education in gardening, sewing, and other self-supporting activities by agriculture extension agencies and 4–H clubs; and, most important, the indigenous development of community self-help projects such as health care clinics, food and land co-ops, and welfare and health rights organizations are steps in the right direction. However, financial and legal support for the small family farm and judicious dispersal of industry and services into small communities are essential. If rural communities are to articulate with the dominant society as at least partially self-sufficient units rather than be incompletely assimilated into it or, worse yet, remain colonies, there must be a recognition of their high extra-economic value and a commitment by the dominant society to their survival.

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PROTECTING THE RURAL ENVIRONMENT

INTRODUCTION AND SUMMARY

(By David Brower, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, N.C.)

The problem addressed by the papers that make up this section is the same dilemma that faces many, if not all, areas of natural beauty and distinction: the beauty or distinctiveness of the area attracts visitors as well as commercial development to serve and/or exploit those visitors until the number of visitors and the quantity and quality of development destroys the features that attracted the visitors in the first place. Put more simply: the value of rural areas lies in their ruralness. If there isn't a place to "get away to" that is sufficiently different from where people want to "get away from" they will stay where they are. But to deny access to these areas is to deny to non-residents a diversity that many hold to be a crucial, and to the areas themselves the opportunity, to economic well being.

These papers approach this dilemma from several different perspectives. Granville B. Liles discusses efforts of the National Park Service to manage the land adjacent to the Blue Ridge Parkway so as to enhance the Parkway rather than detract from it. This is perhaps a classic example of the dilemma. The Federal government acting through the National Park Service recognized many years ago the natural beauty of the Blue Ridge Mountains. In an effort to let larger numbers of people enjoy the attractions of the area the Parkway and campgrounds were built. The Parkway has attracted commercial development to "serve" the travelers and the Parkway. In some places the development has become so intense that the beauty that the Parkway was designed to make available has been destroyed. The Liles paper is not published in this volume.

Another paper describes the effort of a county in Virginia to deal with this phenomenon. A planning program was designed to identify the areas of particular importance to the Parkway but does not deal with implementation of the plan once prepared. White's paper however, does this very nicely. He suggests a method of regulating "visual environmental aesthetics" by using photographs rather than words as statements of policy. He argues that since there is sufficient agreement about what ought to be preserved a series of photographs can be used as statements of what is to be preserved. Thus, decision makers can simply look at the series of pictures, compare them to the factual situation and make a conclusion. A response by Dallas Miner follows White's paper.

A paper authored by William G. Adams and T. J. Kubiak and entitled "The Surface Mine Pollution Abodement-Land Use Impact Investigation: A Federally Sponsored Study Into Alternative Land Uses," was read but is not published herewith.

AN ENVIRONMENTAL APPROACH TO LAND-USE PLANNING FOR RURAL COUNTIES

(By Gary E. Day, Virginia Polytechnic Institute and State University, Blacksburg, Va.)

INTRODUCTION

The question of why "Land-Use Planning" should be the central focus for planning for rural counties is important. Their problems are broad and numerous; health services, education, jobs, etc. I see land-use as being central to planning in that nearly all functional planning will have some physical facility or services network that must be related to a land-use decision. In rural areas it is necessary to begin planning as an interactive planning process with mutual learning. Land has great "value" in that it is very visible and tangible, and, therefore, easier to relate to planning in concept than possibly social theory or economic theory. It permits the rural resident to contribute to the developing process since his knowledge of land and its history is very much a part of him; it is something he "knows."

In terms of a planning approach I would propose that environmental assessment be the appropriate introduction for citizens and planners to the land-use planning, and will serve as the focus for future issues of development and related social, economical, and political issues. The flow is two ways in that feedback from the issues mold the land-use decisions. It can also provide a perspective to identify the appropriate level of government involvement in the process.

Kevin Lynch in writing on Gay Head, Massachusetts, makes these observations about rural places:

A small village on Martha's Vineyard which expands from a local population of 118 to a summer resort population of 1,000.

Gay Head's attitude toward regulation is not peculiar to it, but widespread in rural towns suddenly threatened by development. This attitude follows from the nature and history of such places.

First, the people who have chosen to move to or remain in rural communities often have done so in part because of their attitude toward government and regulation. A not inconsiderable part of the attraction of rural living is the relative freedom to act without constantly encountering government licenses and rules and procedures and prohibitions to which urbanites have become inured. Adoption of any zoning entails for rural people a reluctant surrender of a part of that freedom.

Second, hesitancy over conventional zoning stems from resident knowledge of the town's terrain which, by urban standards, is awesome. Ownership patterns and history, income and use, soil qualities, wildlife habitats, drainage patterns and vegetation are known with an

intimacy which causes distrust of any scheme which, like zoning, lumps together for similar treatment areas known to be different, or which arbitrarily divides, for geometric convenience, areas known to share many attributes.

Third, such towns characteristically have a low level of land use precommitment. They are early in their developmental history. There isn't much existing land development to set the pattern for future land development. Commonly, there is little investment in service systems; paved roads, water or sewage. This makes the initial division of the town into zones appear even more arbitrary. A new boundary line would be taken as a visible, personal affront, by land owners on at least one side of it.

Fourth, the only serious plan-making in such towns usually focuses on implementation, normally zoning. There is little patience for abstractions like long-range future land use plans, a perspective professional planners are now catching up with. In these towns, zoning normally precedes formal plan-making at least by two years, often by decades.

Fifth, personalities have enormous importance. "Judging each case on its merits" is the favored systen of administration, leading to a preference for laws which can be used selectiveiy, which constitute no barrier to known people doing things to be good, but yet are an insurmountable barrier to unkown outsiders doing things presumed to be damaging. Any law, no matter how clear, will to a degree be administered in this way.

FLOYD COUNTY, VA.

Blue Ridge Parkway and the National Park Service

The National Park Service, in a document drafted in 1972, has outlined the problem of land use along the Blue Ridge Parkway. The problems are not new to the people of Floyd County; they have never quite been satisfied with the federal government's treatment of land-use problems through the Blue Ridge Mountain region.

As the report implies, the land was acquired by the state, but there was great confusion at the time as to the intent of the highway usage. Some farmers (stories go) thought it was to be a major "produce to market" highway, but commercial vehicles are restricted on this scenic highway. The Parkway's two main approaches to land controls have been fee title acquisition and scenic easements. Past experience with easements have made farmers wary of any new negotiations with the Park Service. Fee acquisition is now too costly, and eminent domain politically and legally doubtful.

The most recent method developed by the Parkway has been to recommend zoning to the counties along the Blue Ridge Parkway. The nature and intent of this zoning is demonstrated in Article 2, Parkway, Limited, District A–3, of the Zoning Ordinance:

This district covers the portions of the county adjacent to the Blue Ridge Parkway, of 2500′ from the centerline or a total of 5000′ (or as shown on zoning map) on both sides which are occupied by various open uses, such as forests, parks, lakes or mountains. This district is establish for the purpose of facilitating existing and future farming operation and existing agricultural practices along the Blue Ridge

Parkway, preserving the natural farm scene throughout the entire length of the Parkway, further assisting in the conservation of water and other natural resources, reducing soil erosion, protecting watersheds and reducing hazards from flood and fire. Uses not consistent with the existing character of this district are not permitted.

The document by the Blue Ridge Parkway eliminates the possibility of renegotiation of easements. It places its emphasis on "greenbelt zoning." The Parkway made presentations of their proposed zoning to the rural counties. Floyd and adjacent Carroll county were strongly and verbally opposed to the zoning measures. (Rumors have it that in Carroll County the threat of violence existed.)

Lee Alexander, Regional-Local Planner for Floyd County, contacted the faculty of the Landscape Architecture Program at Virginia Polytechnic Institute and State University. A research proposal was written to prepare an environmental assessment of Blue Ridge Parkway in Floyd County, with funding by the federal government. In addition to the esthetic value and visual qualities of the Parkway, the planning district asked that problems from increasing development pressure be considered as an aspect of the research. Also, it was pointed out to our research team that a successful reception to this approach might be the basis for future county wide land-use planning.

Research methodology

The framework for the study was to use McHarg's approach of overlays of several maps indicating different components of the study. The components were visual analysis, environmental analysis, and development potential.

Visual analysis.—A review was made of six studies used in assessing widely different landscapes. The Parkway was also "driven" by members of the design team and visual observation and mapping performed. Some 800 slides were taken, 400 of landscape and the Parkway (roadway, overlooks, mile posts, and various views) and 400 of architectural features. The architectural features were classified by visually suitable and indigenous features (wood barns, fences, homes, and historic features) and obtrusive elements (metal barns with high croma colors, poorly sited home development). These slides aided in our analysis and understanding of the region and became a slide show introduction for our community presentation.

The review of previous studies when compared to the actual site and conditions, lead us to simplify the visual analysis so that it would be more acceptable to local understanding.

Six basic view types were mapped for land along the Parkway. These included:

1. Corridors or enclosed landscape. This type of landscape encompasses the majority of the study area along the Parkway. In this landscape the roadway is completely enclosed with vegetation or landform, or both. It allows no visual penetration from the Parkway.

2. Corridor with openings or semi-enclosed landscape. This landscape is similar to the preceding one, only it presents the viewer with an occasional opening in the barrier, such as a dip in constraining topography or break in tree lines.

3. Intermediate view landscape. This landscape is one where the middleground predominates, providing the focus of the viewer's attention on a subject away from the road. An element of enclosure or foreground may be present in this classification as well.

4. Intermediate view landscape with limited distant view. This landscape consists of an intermediate length view, with an occasional or brief distant view past the middleground.

5. Distant view landscape. This landscape is comparable to Litton's panoramic landscape, where the observer is in a superior position with a distant view of several miles.

6. Distant view landscape with distinct foreground the middleground. This landscape type is a combination of all of the above landscape types, with distinct visual elements in the foreground the middleground.

Aerial photographs were used to assist in the determination of critical areas; to determine tree lines and vegetation enclosure.

A computer program was also developed to test maximum view from the Parkway. By gridding the study area into a 4 hectare grids or cells (approximately ten acres of 660′ on a side); elevation of these cells was determined, and vegetation height and characteristics are determined. This information was placed in the computer and the computer "drove" down the Parkway. The program would derive the number of times a given cell could be "seen" from the Parkway, and those cells that could not be seen. This verified and supplemented previous site observation and aerial photography.

From this information a map was derived displaying the basic views along the Parkway and the results of the computer view program, in a form suitable for public review and presentation.

Environmental analysis

This was much less complex than the previous visual analysis. Data in a computer format was available from a study previously done by the Center for Urban and Regional Studies of Virginia Polytechnic Institute and State University (conducted by Dr. Leonard Simutis and Professor Benjamin Johnson), for the Appalachian Power Company. The data on critical environmental areas were "recalled" from the computer in a format that was already compatible with the views program.

This information was mapped in form just as the visual analysis component had been.

Development potential

Again similar to the environmental analysis data, information was available in the grid format and retrievable for use in this study. Areas of potential development were derived from criteria of soil suitability, slope, accessibility and others. It was in fact this computer capability and information base that initiated the planning district in contacting Virginia Polytechnic Institute and State University.

The areas of development potential were mapped as before, suitable for public display.

Priorities: Constraints and potentials

The three component maps were overlaid to develop an "synthesis" map of priorities. We utilized the "stop-light" system to graphically

display these areas; red for high priority, yellow for moderate priority, and green for low priority. This system of colors is readily understood by public audiences.

High priority areas were these that showed an overlap of developable areas with both critical visual and environmental areas. Moderate priority areas were the overlay of developable land and either significant visual areas or critical environmental areas. Low priority areas were those with development potential independent of visual or environmental impacts. Areas with no development potential were not mapped.

Public presentation and discussion

After review by staff members of the Fourth Planning District, a presentation was made to the Floyd County Planning Commission and the Board of Supervisors.

The program began with a slide show of the Parkway and the region with banjo and guitar music background of "soft" bluegrass. Presentation of the research methodology and the three component maps followed. The priorities map was then presented and discussed.

The discussion of means of land control (see Appendix D) was given next and related to the overall findings as presented in priorities map. Potentials for land guidance were cited as follows:

Considerations in priority areas.—Those areas of high priority are likely to be critical for preservation, possibly the county should recommend to the National Park Service an acquisition, easements, and tax incentives be concentrated in these areas.

Those areas of moderate priorities should involve use of site performance criteria to insure minimal visual or environmental impact, yet encourage compatible development.

Low priority areas should permit and encourage development that will help the overall county economic development, possibly second homes, motels and cabins, highway commercial.

The priority areas relate well to a site design performance standards. It was emphasized that citizens should determine the actual means or criteria to be used for guidance of land use within the priority areas.

Consideration in view type categories.—The arbitrariness of the 5000′ zoning line was attacked by recognizing that the basic view types allow an additional flexibility for land use and building character. Those buildings adjacent to the Parkway (within the N.P.S. 2500′ zone) but screened by an enclosed or semi-enclosed Parkway corridor could have relaxed requirements. Possibly a farmer could put a metal barn or outbuilding of a natural low key color, and an agreement or easement was signed to guarantee the presence and maintenance of vegetation screen.

Buildings in intermediate or distant views can have reduced requirements, not requiring wood construction. Again if the color is not obtrusive and landscape screen is provided to "soften" the structure's visual impact.

However, buildings in views with distinct foregrounds should have requirements for building materials that are compatible with historic and scenic character of the Blue Ridge Parkway. In these particular cases the N.P.S. should provide low interest loans to encourage the

repair and upkeep of existing scenic structures. New structures designed to meet Parkway esthetic requirements, should be partially funded by the N.P.S. or at least the differential in costs to meet those requirements.

This area of consideration can be developed as guidance through architectural performance standards.

Public reaction and acceptance

The advantage of "stop-light" system is the ease of understanding it. At final stage of the meeting, the public was invited to review the maps. They would check for known properties or land areas, and in effect check the accuracy of work and analysis against their own "knowledge of the land." In several instances we received immediate verification of our findings (approximate remarks):

"That land has always been too wet to farm."

"Yeh, those buildings are hid from the Parkway."

General responses were:

"I think for the first time, we have more information on the Parkway, than the Parkway does."

"Why don't you take this and show it to the Parkway people in Asheville." (An idea we wanted to suggest, but they brought it up first).

"We should do this for the entire county." (Just what we had hoped would be the impact of the clarity of the approach).

Since the meeting (held in October 1974) we have received additional feedback through Lee Alexander. Recommendations have been for consideration of fees paid to local farmers from the Parkway for repairs and upkeep of structures, tax incentives, federal loans and programs.

I feel that success of this approach and the possible development of this approach is related to how well it meshes with Kevin Lynch's discussion of rural attitudes.

1. It provides a flexibility that allows for more "judging each case as it merits" and is more consistent with rural attitudes on government and regulations.

2. The method allows the local citizen to test the planner's knowledge of the land. The priority system does not lump land use into rather arbitrary zones and districts as conventional zoning or the Parkway's proposal. It also permits input on their part of their knowledge of the land into the priority system.

3. It does not depend on existing land use as a necessary precondition for future use consideration. The future land-use decisions can be made within this framework of priority areas.

4. It deals with a present focus rather than long range future. It does permit the discussion of future issues; as to how a priority area as shown should be used, but from a clearer sense of an understandable present. I feel that it begins to shorten the "distance" between planning and implementation, and between goals and actions.

Further development of the means into strategic and mixes of means for land use guidance will be undertaken after the design team meets with Parkway officials in December, and then again review them with the local county officials.

I feel that the environment assessment forms a sound mechanism for approaching land use planning in rural areas. It provides a basis for citizen input into the planning process in a manner that is consistent with local knowledge of the area and their present understanding of planning. This permits for education and growth on the part of the public and the planner in a mutual learning situation.

The approach is consistent with rural attitudes and begins the planning process at a level that permits development as their need for planning is further recognized.

There are difficulties in this approach to planning for rural areas.

(1) It requires planners or a planning team with a broad environmental/land-use background.

(2) The Blue Ridge Parkway study, and many others require a computer program to aid in the analysis process.

(3) The environmental assessment requires a data base of sufficient depth and breadth, in order to base decisions on the computer models or other derivative mapping.

(4) Local ability to maintain and monitor changes in the program imply a continual input and feedback from the model and data base. This implies a continuing program of consulting or other mechanisms.

(5) Costs of such an effort by an individual rural area are often prohibitive.

Recommendation for development of the approach

I have categorized these recommendations into three broad areas. Within these areas I have identified several potentials that need further research in order to expand this approach into a workable model as indicated below. These will be expanded in a major paper.

Inventory needs.—Basic environmental data needs to be gathered at a scale and to the detail necessary for land use decisions. Several federal and state agencies have the framework for these investigations for data, but are not directed or funded to perform such work. The Soil Conservation Service (federal) has data that can be translated to meet these needs. State Geologic departments have traditionally located mineral resources but not developed data at a scale compatible for many land use decisions.

The Rural Development Act of 1972 (Public Law 92–419), Title V, Section 502, authorizes Rural Development Extension Programs consisting of "the collection, interpretation, and dissemination of useful information and knowledge to facilitate and encourage the use and practical application of this information. These programs may include feasibility studies and planning assistance."

The Water Resources Planning Act of 1965 (Public Law 89–90, as amended on October 25, 1973) has, as the second major step in its plan formulation process, the inventory and evaluation of resource capabilities. These two acts may provide funding and sources for this physical and environmental inventory data base.

Decision making capability in local governments.—The Planning Advisory Service in a report "Toward a More Effective Land-Use Guidance System," identifies the lack of local government to provide the level of competence for land use control. Robert Cassidy writing in

"America Outside the Cities and Suburbs," identifies the "lack of leadership" as a problem in rural America.

Florida, following the enactment of Environmental Land and Water Management Act of 1972, developed and used several mechanisms to improve local decision making capability. A series of workshops around the state educate local and regional officials, train local administrators, assist the state in defining local/regional procedures, and develop continuing programs of state assistance for local administrators.

Several possible mechanisms are State Departments of Planning and Community Affairs, and Substate Regional Planning Districts. Tennessee and North Carolina have developed programs where planners with the state agency are "contracted" to local government units for a particular project or time period. These are potential mechanisms for improving local capability to use the data base for decision making.

Definition of appropriate roles.—The problems I see related to land-use planning in general, and in rural areas as well, is where the focus of land-use problems should be. Are they truly local problems to be solved by local means?

The possible National Land Use Bill should better define the appropriate roles for all levels of government, federal, state and regional/local. Possible the federal and state governments should establish the guidelines for policy and provide the inventory base to assist regional and local governments in decision making. A concept of "thresholds" is needed that will determine which level of government is appropriate for which activity or scale, or location. This is a sort of "triggering mechanism" that will involve the net "higher" level of government in the decision making process or that will establish a different set of standards and criteria for land use planning for a local scale with a large input.

The resulting framework, no matter how sophisticated, will have to take into account local attitudes. I believe that an environmental approach to land-use planning is a sound beginning for planning in rural counties.

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VISUAL ENVIRONMENTAL AESTHETICS IN RURAL AREAS: NEW PRIORITIES FOR LAND USE PLANNING

(By W. P. Dinsmoor White, Piedmont Environmental Council, Warrenton, Va.)

Rural areas in America face problems which are unprecedented in their scope and their demand for new techniques of analysis and implementation. At the root of these problems lies the belief which is as old as the nation itself: the freedom to dispose of or develop property as its individual owner wishes.

This belief is given strength through several basic current phenomena. First, planning-oriented controls over the use or development of land are largely absent in rural areas, at least at a level which works toward wise and rational arrangements of use patterns. Second, land values and prices, as well as property taxes, of rural land renders it more attractive for easy profits in an era when development is practically the only way to realize the fullest and "least-risk" return on major investment. Third, in the past decade or two, persons holding large tracts of land in rural areas have seen the per-acre market value of their land rise from less than $100 to amounts frequently exceeding $3000 not far from the major metropolitan areas. Fourth, improved communications through highway accessibility, personal mobility, and telecommunications have reduced our dependency on center city living and business locations, and encourage the move of both to the country. Last, where rural living and land costs have risen, they are still enormously competitive with comparable costs in urbanized areas, and particularly with center city costs. These five circumstances are the heart of the "move to the country" and the corresponding pressures on rural area lands.

Emotionally speaking, our agrarian and wilderness assets are too precious to allow "land-grab" tactics to prevail over sound land use practices. But how does land use planning prevent a farmer from giving up his long tenure and activity? How can planning prevent an individual from cashing in on the high market value of land for lifelong personal financial security? Or, more importantly, how can planning itself, too long geared to problems of urban growth and development, shift its anaytical focus to land-oriented problems of rural area exploitation? Perhaps, at the end of this conference, we will have some ideas and new approaches to focus on.

In any case, the subject I wish to deal with here is broadly that of establishing priorities for designating uses of rural lands. One question I hope to answer is that of how we may make visual inventories of characteristics of rural land a more powerful tool in establishing a coherent balance between growth or development areas and preservation areas. The concept of Rural Aesthetics lies at the base of the approach now being employed by my office in the rural Northern Piedmont Region of Virginia.

Visual appraisals provide the starting point of rural area planning. As the concern for planning in a rural area is largely countywide or regional in focus, techniques which deal with a reduced number or range of existing uses must be employed. These techniques must necessarily be employed to illustrate the quality of existing uses, but also the quality of land form, vegetative overgrowth, ecology, soils and water systems. More importantly, they must deal with the quality of the visual scene in such a way as to encourage the preservation of scenic beauty as a limited resource.

Frequently we find realtors in our area selling land and buildings on the promise of the asset-value of the aesthetics of the locale: Picturesque small towns or villages, views of the mountains, sylvan streamside settings, beautiful hardwood forest and so on. Yet the more they sell, the more they seriously deteriorate those values, which are so attractive to a wide variety of people. Our argument to this situation goes something like this: "let's sit down and pinpoint these values, locate them and define them, and then let's evolve a structure for future growth and development which preserves and maintains those essential values for the future enjoyment of our populations." To do this, we feel, there must be a visual inventory of the land which defines the characteristics and qualities which generate stronger emotional feelings of aesthetic quality, and renders these useable within the policy-making part of the planning process.

Why "visual?" According to Cliff Tandy, visual records are essential. For planning or plan-design purposes, a visual record helps to analyze the character of spaces and the relationships between them, so that something of these special qualities can be made a part of the more quantifiable environmental, social, psychological, and economic systems of society. Tandy's visual records include appraisals of edges, boundaries, space zones, views, horizons and other space-defining characteristics of land, but not so much the judgment of aesthetic qualities of such areas. We are impressed with the concept of "space zones" defined as areas of some special character worthy of preservation in a regional analysis. Zones delineated as Areas of Extreme Topographic Variation serve well to exemplify one type of aesthetic control area.

It is easy, however, to delineate unique landscapes in this manner. The British set aside Areas of Outstanding Natural Beauty as public lands and enforce controls which preserve their character and aesthetic quality as a matter of course. The British have also taken a lead in the systematic evaluation of aesthetic quality for all landscapes in a given region. In 1968, K. D. Fines developed a system for quantifying the aesthetic quality of any landscape using comparative appraisals. Until his worthy effort, there was perhaps no recognized method of evaluating and quantifying the inherent aesthetic value or vulnerability of the land. Fines attributed this inattentiveness of professionals to the inherent subjectivity of the concept, and devoted his efforts to converting the subjective and supposedly arbitrary approach to one which is highly objective, number-oriented and non-arbitrary.

Most professionals in this country have shied away from the concept of aesthetic appraisal for the same reason Fines states. Both Bishop and Dickert refer to the reluctance of impact assessors to

grapple with the problem of aesthetic appraisals in Environmental Impact Statements. Bishop attributes the reluctance to uncertainty, or the difficulty of being precise about the total physical (and aesthetic) impacts of a proposed action. In his view, uncertainty causes most assessors to ignore or turn their backs on the more subjective considerations, preferring to remain within a cloak of quantifiability.

Dickert poses a solution in concept: scaling of environmental values. But the evolution of techniques of scaling aesthetic assessments has been totally ignored, both in the federal guidelines and in the efforts of the Assessors of Environmental Impact Statements. A recent unpublished review of impact statements presented to date, suggested that the area of judgment of aesthetic impacts has been by far the most deficient area of concern in this important activity. The recent attention to scaling techniques will obviously reach much further than the planning process has to date, providing universal agreement can be reached on the validity and representativeness of a given scaling technique.

Leopold verifies this when he says quantification is the important ingredient in the communicability of landscape aesthetics. Numbers associated with subjective judgments immediately give such judgments greater force and weight in decisions they affect, than purely emotional arguments. It seems that the only way to elicit universal agreement is through the relative simplicity of numbers.

Even with a more sophisticated numbering technique, we are still likely to run into endless dispute over interpretations of what is "good" or "bad" aesthetically. Zube, among others, has attacked this issue, and perhaps laid it to rest. He admits that visul attractiveness is a highly personal preference, based upon considerable variation in individual perceptions of landscape beauty, and especially where average, or non-unique landscapes are concerned. Zube's research, however, shows conclusively that there is substantial agreement on such middleground landscapes among diversified groups of individual respondents. The high degree of agreement he found, both on aesthetic quality ratings and on types of landscapes, provide us with a strong basis for extrapolation of professional judgments to the wider range of populations, regardless of class, cultural or other social background variables. Clearly a practiced professional eye is competent to appraise aesthetic value in the landscape; such appraisals should be representative of the non-professional individual's and thus of society's, value system.

We are at a point now where we may say that aesthetic values can be quantified, and that such judgments are generalizable preferences held by most individuals in American society. This being the case, to what end do such activities serve us in rural planning?

The starting point of rural area planning should involve a strong orientation toward placing a value system on the resources of the area. There is in any given locale an interdependency of soil types, water supplies, forest resources, and relief characteristics which determine the appropriateness of land for certain classes of use. Associated with each is the positive and the negative (i.e. highly viable productive agricultural soil, and poor agricultural soils) depending upon the type of use appropriate to that land parcel. Our belief is that, wherever pos-

sible, rural lands should be put into its highest possible use category, bearing in mind that appropriate rural uses are quite different from urban uses. Recreation, Agriculture, Forestry, Aquifer Recharge, Water storage, and other are examples of uses which are more important in rural areas, but not generally dealt with in traditional land use planning.

Based on this, then, I see a quite different set of rural zones emerging from planning analysis than those treated in our more typical ordinances. New rural zones, based upon land resource value, and not necessarily upon market value, will become strong enough to bar exploitation by development into appropriate uses. Scenery, agriculture, or water systems will attain status as resources and be protected as such.

The visual or aesthetic inventory will perform several useful structuring roles in rural planning. The first and most obvious is that of setting priorities on lands for conservation purposes.

Piedmont Environmental Council has developed an aesthetic appraisal system which places landscape scenes in a nine-point scale of quality—ratings, and at the same time distinguishes three, five-point subscales for categories of land. The categories are Settlement land, Agrarian land, and Wilderness land. Although it is a current project, we anticipate that lands rated in the highest three or four values will be subjected to a broad conservation policy, such as large-lot or no-subdivision zoning. It is conceivable that special area designations, such as critical environmental area status, will be established and legally enforced in such areas where appropriate local, rural governments will probably take the lead in establishing controls which support the preservation of such lands, providing they accept the non-arbitrary nature of the landscape assessment techniques.

A second role comes from the idea that any poor-quality visual environment can be improved through development. Thus, in the lower quality areas, it should be possible to improve the visual environment which is subject to aesthetic review, such as by an architectural review board. Such lower quality areas may be designated as special districts in which special review procedures must be followed before development permits can be issued. Strict aesthetic guidelines involving materials, heights, size, siting and landscaping of new structures may be applied, providing they are reasonable and non-capricious. In any situation involving the lower quality districts, the objective would be to encourage development to improve the visual quality rather than prohibit it.

Another important role is that of setting guidelines for where growth and development should take place. In another PEC study, we are seeking to find ways of preserving open land by encouraging development in existing towns and villages. The visual inventory has been employed to determine which places are appropriate for certain growth concepts. We define three concepts: A—preservation only, B—infill development inbetween existing structures to create a sense of community and townscape, and C—growth areas, where a physical design for both infill and peripheral development will be explored.

In this current study, a visual appraisal of the aesthetic potential of each place has been conducted, and estimates of growth amounts have been calculated. Using an entire county as study area, we have esti-

mated that roughly 70% of the county's 15-year projected population increase could be accommodated with little further loss of rural open space, and at great savings in service costs to the county.

The advantages of the assessment of rural aesthetics clearly accrue to the evolution of sound policies for regulating the growth and development of the rural region. The establishment of special aesthetic zones in rural areas will depend on the successful design of a series of techniques which make reliable and accurate evaluations of scenic qualities.

Our priorities in rural area planning should include the preservation of agricultural enterprise, the conservation of natural resources, and the accommodation of reasonable economic, social and physical growth. The attainment of these objectives, however, should never be at the expense of our greatest natural resource, the aesthetic quality of our rural countryside. I think we are beginning to recognize such values, and our planning exercises will soon begin to establish the appropriate balance between growth policies and conservation of our rural environment.

Visual Environmental Aesthetics: A Response

(By Dallas Miner, Urban Land Institute, Washington, D.C.)

Mr. White states in his paper that "our agrarian and wilderness assets are too precious to allow 'land-grab' tactics to prevail over sound land use practices." Indeed, the retention of agricultural/rural lands, and the industry/employment which these lands support is consuming the attention of greater numbers of communities throughout the nation. Agricultural/rural lands are values for their food production capacity, and for the many socio-ecological values inherent in rural open space including, as is discussed in the papers, the visual or aesthetic aspects.

Currently, states in the West, Northeast, and several areas of the South are attempting to devise schemes to preserve agriculture, and thus, large segments of the rural countryside. To date, the use of preferential tax assessment program is the most common tool. However, in areas of high growth pressure, use-value assessment policies are not sufficient to keep the landowner from "cashing-in" on his windfall profit potential. In these areas, there must be a strong commitment on the part of local, county, regional, or state government to preserve remaining open lands because, in the final analysis, strong regulatory measures or acquisition by government appear to be the only absolute means of keeping the land in an undeveloped state. But this is often easier said than done because of the use of the police power often raises the "taking issue" and other legal questions and acquisition involves the commitment of substantial sums of money.

The point here is that to justify the preservation of large tracts of rural open space there must be a sound, convincing rationale based on a variety of arguments. Certainly, visual aesthetics is one, but it is unlikely that this alone will prove adequate. Mr. White, I am sure, is not attempting to suggest that major programs of rural preservation be

keyed entirely to the aesthetic value of the land, but the point should be made that aesthetic considerations are but one of many which must be taken into acount.

The point becomes even more important when viewed in the light of recent developments in the law. Without getting too specific, let me make one general observation: regulatory attempts at controlling growth and/or preserving large blocks of open space (which, in effect, is a growth limiting technique) are being scrutinized carefully by the courts. The simple desire of a community to retain its rural character no matter how noble, has not been viewed by the courts as ample rationale for broad programs of growth control; whereas protection of environmentally "critical areas" such as wetlands, has been viewed as a legitimate exercise of the police power. There is, however, a new phrase entering the regulatory arena—"areas of unique natural or historic significance"—which occasionally includes the word "scenic." Should this phraseology become generally applied and therefore, given a degree of "the legislative presumption of validity," the courts may become more willing to view with favor regulatory exercises prompted by a desire to protect rural character.

Everyone seems to agree that there are no "absolutes" when it comes to aesthetics, but it is suggested that a set of general criteria has been or can be developed, which will be illustrative of the "norm" in terms of aesthetic perception. With this as a gauge, it is suggested that a point or scaling system can be designed to achieve as the paper quotes, "simplicity of numbers."

I would heartily agree that numbers usually mean more than emotions at the planning board hearing, or in the language of an EIS; however, I am not sure that there will ever be a "generally accepted" scale or set of criteria sufficient to still the "beauty is in the eye of the beholder" argument. Certainly unique natural features, such as a waterfall, vista, or unusual vegetation can be prioritized, but what is the "aesthetic value" of a tree, or a woodlot, in the midst of a predominantly forested county? or the aesthetic value of one pasture in a predominantly agricultural county? Certainly the woodlot and the pasture are as "valuable" as their adjoining counterparts in terms of aesthetic considerations.

I do not mean to diminish the role of aesthetic concerns or the value of visual assessments in the planing process—both are vital—however, I do feel, unfortunately, as a practical matter, that both will continue to play limited roles in broad land use decision-making.

The greatest value of visual assessment, as the paper clearly suggests, is as a tool (one of several) in determining prime open space areas. Properly trained "assessors," equipped with the best scaling or quantifying techniques could indeed apply some sort of aesthetic measurement to varying land forms or land areas and then plug this information into the decision-making process. This would be extremely useful in broadening the traditional planning base. The round-about-point I am trying to make, is that while aesthetic measures produced by visual assessment (or any method) are part-and-parcel (or should be) of planning decisions, these measures should not nor could be the sole, or even primary, basis for planning decisions. (The exception, of course, would be the preservation of areas of "unique natural, scenic" value.)

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All of this discussion is based on the assumption that we're considering large-scale planning decisions—decisions that effect a community or have measurable impact in a rural county. Smaller scale planning decisions, such as "neighborhood" or "lot" planing could benefit more from visual assessment. On the smaller scale, visual or aesthetic concerns may be ample criteria for making certain kinds of planning decisions. But on the town or community level the necessity to give full coverage to the broader range of concern tends to diminish the import of any simple concern.

The paper suggests "pinpoint(ing)" the values that attract people to a rural community "locat(ing) them" and "evolv(ing) a structure for future growth and development which preserves and maintains those essential values . . ." The thing that makes most people want to move to a rural area is the lack of other people and a different lifestyle. For some people, one new neighbor within hearing range of a lawnmower will ruin the "rural" character of their environment. The point being that attractive values can't always be "pinpointed" or "located" because occasionally it is simply the absence of other people that is "aesthetically" attractive.

One final comment. In the discussion of the aesthetic appraisal system, the paper describes its use in "setting guidelines for where growth and development should take place." I am assuming that other important criteria are also used since a growth guidance system based solely on "aesthetic" determinations would, in all likelihood, be found faulty. Such measurements as "carrying capacity," "facilities adequacy," etc., must, of course, be given prime attention by local decisionmakers.

Taken collectively with these other environmental elements and economic and social concerns, aesthetic measurement via visual assessment can certainly contribute to the state-of-the-art of rural planning.

PART V

A CONFERENCE SUMMARY

(By James R. Hinkley, AIP, Office of State Planning, Raleigh, N.C.)

Fellow non-farmers, non-locally elected officials, non-rural government administrators, and non-developers—I have come prepared to talk to planners, professors, students, bureaucrats, and pro-land-use interest groups. We are here (if the poll taken yesterday morning still stands true) without our friends to discuss their futures. Although this has been an excellent conference, among the best I have attended, we have gathered to discuss how our rural counterparts in society shall live. They may someday feel the brunt of our deliberations. Hopefully, we shall have their input before then. For your background information: I do know that I did not grow up on a farm, but I am not exactly sure whether I was raised in a rural area because rural areas have been defined for me in last two days as settlements of 2,500 and under and as communities with fewer than 10 to 15,000 inhabitants but with no more than 35,000 and no more than 25 miles from a SMSA. I knew that I lived as opposed to the rigorous early life led by the South Dakotan who spoke yesterday, in a deteriorating neighborhood we did have indoor toilets—two in all—one in the cellar and one on the second floor. Many in our neighborhod were character building also, at least until one was heavy enough to hold the seat down.

Since Sunday evening, I have heard a lot of history on the delicate condition of development in rural America. And from other than the Federal sector, which claimed not to be paternal at least twice, I have heard relatively few new suggestions on how to deal with rural America's dilemna. Quite obviously we do not have the answers. We are really unable to articulate and recommend sound solutions at this point. A follow-up session or two is clearly called for to deal with problems now that we have defined them. And our work should be done with our rural cousins sitting by our sides. This conference should be the first in yearly meetings on the subject.

We have heard many times when faced with problems, ". . . if only our forebears had done some planning." But as Dr. Muchmore indicated yesterday, we are preoccupied and even obsessed with planning. At the same time the American way of life is less hospitable to planning than any other. We and our governments are organized to deal with problems especially when they reach crisis proportions, and that is when we are at our best in motivating in a concerted manner to cope with them. For instance, when energy and economic situations worsen to the point in our country where we and the power structure really hurt, we will begin our glorious recovery. Before then, I believe our hopes are slim.

Rural America faces a number of problems many of which have been identified during the course of the conference. These problems are neither overwhelming nor unsolvable, but many are significant enough to formulate policies and processes leading to their rectification. One thing that really bothers me about rural America is that others are doing the planning for it—by default outsiders, such as the Federal and State governments, are casting the die of development. Rural America does not know what is happening to it.

The industrialization of rural America and specifically rural North Carolina, without significantly adding to existing communities and without building new towns, has contributed to strip development along major highways. Excluding the eastern and western extremities of the state, it is becoming more uncommon to travel along a major highway and not to be within sight of homes or other buildings. Most amazing is the density of yard lights that one sees dotting the countryside as he flies across the state at nighttime. Rural residential development along paved roads stretching out as tentacles between towns and to special-use complexes is becoming more evident.

The rural strip development phenomenon can be compared to commercial strip development which takes place between communities in metropolitan areas. For both the impetus is accessibility. In rural areas, however, the Federal and State governments play the key role in perpetuating strip development patterns. Decision-making lies with agencies such as the Farmer Home Administration (FHA), the Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD), and the State. Water and sewer planning studies have been financed by FHA in all except eight metropolitan counties in North Carolina. This planning, which in most cases received cursory review and quick approval of county planning boards and commissioners, plots mains and lines in virtually all areas where rural residential development has already taken place. The prime purpose for the FHA "plans" was to insure that as many existing homes and other uses as possible would be served. Implementation of the plans (completed in 1970–71) will perpetuate and induce new strip development in rural areas. In addition, FHA's housing assistance and HUD's 236 housing programs, directed at building single family housing units for lower to moderate income people, also have been responsible for perpetuating rural strip development. Homes are built along major highways where investments for access and street paving can be kept to a minimum. State departments such as Natural and Economic Resources, Public Education, and Community Colleges are also influential in placement of industry and institutions in rural areas.

The irony here is that both State and Federal representatives attending this conference speak out against sprawl, against strip development, and other planning atrocities, but the agencies they work for fund planning and projects which promote and perpetuate just the opposite. Yesterday we heard an official of the USDA say to rural America, "Zone early so you can manage your own affairs and growth."

USDA says this while NCSU Agricultural Extension Services, HUD and Interior say plan first then zone. Most localities, their citizenry and local officials do not know the difference between planning and zoning. Some treat zoning alone as the panacea to development

problems. As we all know, zoning backed by no or bad planning often serves as the precursor for poor development. The point I want to get across here is that we have got to get our proverbial "stuff" together and stop contradicting ourselves.

A roadblock to providing high level services economically and effectively in rural America is the lack of communications between local units of government. The classic example is the city-county dialogue issue. I would venture to say that in most localities in our nation the city is the city and the county is the county and the twain never meet. Pettiness, personality conflicts, and rivalry mark this relationship. They fight each other. And when they try to cooperate they stumble over each other. The need for strong interlocal governmental ties is most urgent in rural America where resources and person-power are crucial. Overcoming the manifold shortcomings already faced by rural areas is blocked by this unconscionable and totally unnecessary condition. The situation is a breach of the public trust by local and regional units and their elected and appointed officials. Our citizens are being ripped off because they are not benefiting from the proven advantages of interlocal cooperation. Actually they are footing the ever increasingly higher bill for duplicated, contradictory, and inadequate facilities and services.

The tight money market may prove to be the most immediate controlling factor in achieving some semblance of growth guidance in rural America. Differential property taxation policy is another factor on the horizon where farmers will be spared the debilitating experiences of overtaxation. Municipal investment policies based on State Land Classification Systems will become guidance tools because there simply is not enough money to continue to meet all development demands. Selectivity will prevail. Communities will begin to realize that the new homes on the rural horizon bring a net financial loss, not a gain. Municipalities will begin to see that the best place to grow is where growth has taken place before and where sophisticated, expensive infrastructure already exists. Utilities and services will be provided in accordance with intensity standards, new equalized land tax systems, and municipal extension policies.

Encroaching suburbia with its destiny of achieving the "good rural life" is the biggest land vulture in America. The continuing unplanned and random placement of new subdivisions beyond municipal limits is actually a threat to rather than the recreation and the preservation of the rural way of life. "Farm Family Estates" and "Rural Acres" ironically are the harbingers of the urban scene coming down the pike. Their titles are misnomers.

In recent years persons favoring controlled and managed growth have made impressive political gains. All across our country local populist movements have elected city councils and county commissions which are responding to the new call to stewardship. The movement must remain on guard because the business/developer community is reacting.

Can rural America have its cake and eat it too? Can it have the environmental and esthetic attributes of rural life and "urban type" conveniences at the same time? Some believe that it can at least approximate this ideal way of life.

There is a conflict between the call for a broadcast distribution of high level infrastructure and the availability of money and the economy in providing them. Money must be spread fairly but efficiently. The energy situation also provides fodder for the argument against extension.

First, existing rural centers must be chosen to provide certain specific or combinations of services to the citizenry at various levels of quality and quantity. This is already taking place through the process of "natural economic selection"; many rural communities have cast their lots as specialty centers. This process I discuss in the paper which I submitted to the conference last January.

Second, State government investment policies in support of the designated centers need to be formulated. These policies will have to address investments in housing, business and industry; transportation; land use and the environment; law enforcement; and social services among other areas. States will need to centralize their investment decisionmaking processes so that community investment will be a coordinated and effective effort avoiding contradiction and duplication in application by line agencies. Investments and technical assistance must be provided within the context of an overall development policy. Most importantly, states will need to find ways to influence and to persuade local units to spend portions of General Revenue Sharing, Community Development Assistance, and other funds in support of statewide development policies along with funds contributed by the state

Third, spreading States' money across broad geographic and program spectrums would have to be done incrementally over a broad time frame. A plan for application of funds by community function and category by region in blocks of time deems strong consideration. An alternative with merit is the application of monies and assistance for the first time to a few localities on an experimental basis to test the policy developed by the state.

A statewide development policy would hardly be implementable if local units of government were either unwilling or unable to participate. Assuming they were willing, many rural governments are really incapable of participating effectively because of a number of shortcomings.

From my perspective, the panacea to this problem is at least fivefold. First, a new approach to rural planning must be considered. Although it is continually applied, the traditional "urban planning process" is not what is called for; it does not work in rural areas just as we have found that it does not work at the state level. Planning must respond to the crisis and problem-solving orientation of rural government and its leaders. Rectification of existing problems and averting future problems, with planning as a strong consideration in the process, is a practical and proven method. This sensible process approach is more acceptable to rural people. This proposal and the four remaining items are touched upon in more depth in my conference paper.

Second, intergovernmental cooperation, both vertical and horizontal, must become standard operating procedure. To be successful in achieving the goal of providing services comparable to those which

city dwellers enjoy, pooling of resources and cooperating in programs is essential. Towns, counties, regions, and the states must work hand-in-hand in creating vertical linkage just as relations among towns, counties, and regions must be developed horizontally. Oneupmanship, turf protection, and petty differences will have to be set aside. Regional organizations should be more aggressive and creative in effecting cooperation; states should require intergovernmental cooperation in local and regional planning enabling legislation. The purpose here should be couched in terms of selflessness rather than selfishness which prevails in all too many cases. The interlocal competitive mode of doing things must be scuttled, and interlocal cooperation and mutual assistance must be promoted.

Third, the citizenry must be brought into the planning process so that local legislative bodies can attain the absolutely necessary rapport and support to guide various infrastructure and services. A planning support structure needs to be established at the local level. Planning boards, town boards, and county commissioners need to be prodded by formally organized citizen groups from time to time to break away from their day-to-day affairs to sit back and take a comprehensive look at their jurisdictions. Citizens advisory groups comparable to the Goals for Raleigh structure here in North Carolina and Rural Development Panels can be of great assistance in providing support for land-use and comprehensive planning.

Fourth, states, which have clear responsibility to direct growth, long ago passed this planning responsibility on to local units of government. In a sense this was a blatant abdication of responsibility, because states said that local units may plan and guide development if they wish. This laissez-faire attitude is beginning to shift across the nation with the passage of coastal area management and Land Policy Acts and the potential of a Mountain Area Management Act here in North Carolina. States should require local units to plan and to exercise the responsibility of growth managements in accordance with local comprehensive planning and state and regional policies. If municipalities are either unable to or unwilling to carry out this charge, their respective counties should be assigned the task. If counties cannot respond, their respective regions should be held accountable. If regions do not act, the states should perform the planning function. The buck should stop at the State level, if local units do not respond. The idea of having the Federal government doing local planning is unconscionable.

Fifth, states must come to grips with their uncoordinated, multiplicity of policies on growth. They must develop central policy themes within the context of which all line agency policy, planning, funding, and technical assistance will be applied on the local scene. At the present, agencies of state governments provide services and make capital investments generally out of context with any conscious or common, overall policies or plans for development and sometimes in contradiction with each other.

In closing let me say again, rural governments are letting opportunities for casting their own futures drop between the cracks. Many other sectors (federal, state, and private) are setting the stage for development in rural areas. The citizenry are by default generally kept out of

the picture. An orientation toward the future will be required by extending the fire-fighting, crisis-solving mode of operations of rural governments to a planning and protracted management frame of thinking. We did hear yesterday that ". . . to plan or not to plan is the question" because to plan seems ridiculous and to implement is out of the question. From another sector we heard that "to plan is human" and "to implement is devine."

In this vein, my earlier comments concerning a follow-up conference on Planning Frontiers in Rural America are serious ones. As I said, most of what we have heard during the last three days was stating and restating the problems of rural America with relatively few solid ideas and approaches to dealing with the problems. I believe that this conference should be deemed as the first in a series of annual or semi-annual meetings on the subject of Rural American Development. Possibly, the annual conference should become an institution at Appalachian State University. This would be a tremendous service to the nation.

We now need to formulate some issue and policy statements and to identify audiences and publics to whom our conclusions can be stated. Because North Carolina has been called America's most rural state, and we have the largest rural non-farm population in the nation (some 55% of our people live in non-urban areas), we have the calling to motivate ourselves and other states to come together again and again to assist in providing leadership to our people and their respective governments in dealing with the rural American scene.

As a charge to you from this conference let me suggest that as you go your respective ways, first, reflect very carefully on what you heard during these three days, read your notes and the papers presented in the Appalachian Business Review which have been mailed to you, and study the book which is being generated by the conference. Second, develop a force to move your state legislatures to pass bills which will require state government to formulate meaningful rural development policy and plans and to provide both financial, material, and technical assistance to rural governments.

The "better life" inevitably will come to rural America. Let us help hasten that day. But let us not destroy rural America's attributes as we go about it.

APPENDIX

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